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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1723



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WESTERN PRESS REPORTS ON THE CSSR

Infighting in Czechoslovak Leadership

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German 24 Aug 79 p 7

[Article by Rudolf Stroebinger: "Prague Friends Against Husak"]

[Text] Gustav Husak managed to survive. With rifle support from East Berlin, the Czechoslovak chief of state and party succeeded in repelling a major attack by his opponents in the party leadership which was started during the past weeks. Just like 2 years ago--when South Bohemian party secretary Hejna demanded Husak's replacement because of incompetence and thereupon was punished by being transferred to the post of ambassador to Sofia--the miserable economic situation of the country involving rapid price increases of gasoline, electric power, gas, postal and telephone charges, as well as children's clothing provided the welcome occasion for making the attempt to get rid of the troublesome but also feared party chief once and for all.

Husak had to fight, and must continue to fight, a "two-front war." On the one hand, the group around the president of parliament, Alois Indra, and the chairman of the trade union organization Karel Hoffmann, both of whom played a leading role in the preparation of the invasion of the CSSR by the Russians 11 years ago, accuses the Slovak Husak of giving preferential treatment to the Slovaks at the expense of the Czechs. The Czech "nationalists" are being supported by large segments of the state security service. They deplore the fact that the investments that are being made in the Slovak part of the country on a percentage basis far exceed those which are being made in the Czech part of the republic. What is more: They charge that Slovak functionaries without adequate qualifications are being appointed to high state and party posts, for the purpose of strengthening the Husak clan in Prague.

On the second front, the "dogmatists" around the No 2 man in the party hierarchy, the Ruthenian Vasil Bilak, are lying in ambush. They accuse the state and party chief of being too lax and soft in dealing with the outgrowths of "antisocialism" of all gradations. Bilak, the "father" of

the thesis that in Czechoslovakia no "sunshine" must be allowed for the enemies of the party, holds Husak responsible for the fact that the civil rights movement "Charter 77" after 2 years is still active. Just a few days ago, Bilak had an indirect attack on Husak published in the weekly TRIBUNA, which is regarded as the mouthpiece of the firebrands in the communist party. Anyone who does not execute the class struggle with all determination, according to TRIBUNA, has no right to a place in the party leadership.

When the central party organ RUDE PRAVO announced recently that because of failures in the economy, personnel changes in the ministries have become necessary, it was clear: Husak has won again. In other words, it is not the party led by him which is to be held responsible for the failures, but rather the anonymous state administration and bureaucracy. Husak's wish, not to increase the prices of the basic food products in spite of the pressure from the technocrats, also had to be accepted. His reputation as "stabilizer" was not to suffer. To be sure, his East Berlin colleague Erich Honecker had decisively come to his aid in this respect--a fact not generally known in the CSSR. A few weeks before the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the GDR, Honecker implored his Czechoslovak comrades not to increase prices in the neighboring CSSR. For otherwise, a psychosis of fear with hoarding purchases could no longer be prevented in the "first German workers' and peasants' state." And the rulers in East Berlin fear nothing as much as unrest among the population. Especially now, when successes are supposed to be manifested. But for Gustav Husak the state jubilee of the neighbors is only a weak basis for survival. His future is uncertain.

Harsher Treatment of Dissidents

Bonn DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 24 Aug 79 p 7

[Article by Ota Filip: "Czechoslovakia: Purge Man in Ostrau"]

[Text] Far away from the eyes of the Western press, a party boss can devote himself wholly to the hunt for dissidents.

There is a city in Czechoslovakia in which there is not a single citizen now who would dare so much as to say a word against the omnipotent party of the communists. The city is called Ostrau and is as large as Frankfurt/Main.

Since 1969 all troublesome "elements" in Ostrau have been put in jail. The philosopher Jaroslav Krejci was in jail for 3 years, the engineer Jan Lestinsky for the same length of time, the linguist Jan Svoboda 3-1/2 years, the young poets Ivan Binar and Peter Podrazsky for a total of 3 years, the musician Eduard Schiffauer for a year. And on 9 August 1979, the last courageous citizen of Ostrau, Jaromir Savrda, was put behind bars

for 2-1/2 years by the district court in Ostrau I. His "crime" consisted of the fact that during a search of his home, two books by Solzhenitsyn had been found and some novels, copied by typewriter, of the Prague underground publisher "Edition Behind Lock and Key." The court in Ostrau I characterized Savrda's crime as undermining of the socialist social order and slandering of the USSR. For 11 months Jaromir Savrda had been in jail pending trial.

So Ostrau is now clean. Not quite 2 years ago, the Ostrau signatories of the Prague Charter 77 had been deported to Austria. Those who were able to save themselves fled to Prague, for by comparison with Ostrau the atmosphere in the capital is quite different.

Comrade Mamula, the party secretary in Ostrau, has fortified his position in Prague through this. He can demonstrate to the people in Prague, who cannot cope with their dissidents, the model of Ostrau. The Western correspondents who are stationed in Prague, of course, do not penetrate to the large industrial city. Thus, the Ostrau comrades can get away with a lot of things which would not be so easy to pull off in Prague.

When Pavel Kohout still lived in Prague, people found out the next day that the police had kicked his pure-bred dachshund and that Kohout's wife had bitten a policeman in the arm, what was happening in Prague. Savrda's arrest in Ostrau became known here only 11 months after it happened, 3 days before he was put on trial. An English television team as recently as this year was able to do a film, even if secretly, on the surveillance methods of the Czechoslovak secret police. The news of Savrda's 11 month long suffering in prison pending trial got through to Amnesty International only a few days ago: Savrda has lost 30 kilograms in prison, he is very ill and deserted by his friends, completely at the mercy of the arbitrariness of the omnipotent party and police apparatus.

Jaromir Savrda was arrested on the basis of a denunciation. A lady friend of the family visited him a number of times, and he showed her Solzhenitsyn's writings. Immediately afterwards, the lady was taken to the secret police. There it was made very clear to her that she had been observed entering the home of Savrda three times. After a 10-hour long cross-examination, the woman admitted to having seen Solzhenitsyn's Gulag I and II in Russian in a bookcase in Savrda's home. The next day the police stormed Savrda's home.

The sentence of 9 August 1979 stated that Jaromir Savrda is to be regarded as a state criminal and that in order to protect the "honest citizens" against his influence he is without fail to be isolated from society. In addition, Savrda must pay 5,000 korunas in fines, everything he owns will become state property.

Comrade Mamula, the party secretary, without doubt, has reported his success in the struggle against the "counterrevolutionaries" to Prague and can, together with his comrades, male and female, rest calmly in a little baroque

castle near Troppau or in the "recreation center," which was especially built for the party bosses in the Beskids. The "socialist city of Ostrau" has been definitively cleansed of "antisocialist elements."

'Petlice', the Czech Samizdat

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 12 Jul 79 p 27

[Text] if. In contrast to "Samizdat," the unofficial publication system of dissident writers, publicists, and scientists in the USSR, its Czech counterpart--the Edition "Petlice"--has thus far commanded only isolated attention in Western countries. Only some theatrical works published by the Edition "Petlice" (by Havel, Kohout), as well as the Almanac of Czech Literature (1968-1978), which was conceived for a foreign publisher and which a year ago appeared in German under the title Hour of Hope (Hodina nadeje), have attained a certain broad effect; no contemporary Czech author, however, has succeeded in establishing himself outside of his language area in a way that would be comparable to the far-reaching success among the public of Russian--official as well as unofficial--literature (e.g., Trifonov, Rasputin, Okudzhava, Voinovich, Kopelev, Zinovyev). Even such significant prose authors as Trefulka or Grusa, lyric poets such as Kolar and Skacel, have remained u-noticed, even though their writings are in part available in translation; only exiled writers like Skvorecky and Kundera have had a perceptible resonance, but their work has not had an enduring effect.

However, that in Czechoslovakia even today, in spite of massive external restrictions and extensive isolation from the international literary enterprise, numerous dissident authors are active, can be seen from a voluminous title index, which has just appeared in the Czech exile journal SVEDECTVI (CVIII, 1979) and which approximately represents the publication production of the unofficial Edition "Petlice" since 1975. Among the approximately 100 titles are novels and stories by Alexander Kliment, Ladislav Dvorak, Jiri Pechar, Jan Trefulka, Eda Kriseova, Ivan Klima, stage plays and radio dramas by Milan Uhde, Eva Kanturkova, Jiri Dienstbier, Vaclav Havel, Josef Topol, Pavel Landovsky, as well as metric poetry by Jan Vladislav, Pavel Jansky, Jaromir Horec, Karel Siktanc, Vera Jirousova, Josef Koenigsmark. Vaclav Cerny, Frantisek Kautman, Julius Tomin, Jindrich Chalupecky, Marie Rut Krizkova, Jiri Konupek and Jiri Hajek are represented with works of political journalism, essays, or literary criticism.

Two significant collections, edited by Jan Vladislav (1977; 1978), whose contributors include, among others, Paul Ricoeur, Roman Jakobson, Vaclav Cerny, Ludwig Landgrebe, Vaclav Havel, Frantisek Kautman, Vladimir Tardy and Jiri Pechar, are dedicated to the philosopher, Hegel translator and former Charter spokesman Jan Patocka, who died in 1977 after a police interrogation. In two other "Petlice" publications, The Czechslovak Feuilleton of the years 1976 to 1978--with a total of 156 contributions--is documented. The initiators and authors of the Edition "Petlice" should receive increased international recognition; that they deserve this recognition (and also need it) is obvious.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ARMED FORCES POLITICAL HEAD ON PEACE PROSPECTS IN EUROPE

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 33 No 35, 2 Sep 79 pp 3-4

[Interview on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, 1 September 1939, with Col Heinz Kessler, deputy minister for national defense and chief, Political Main Administration, National People's Army (NVA), by Hans Jacobus and Werner Mueller-Claud: "A Generation of Peace in Europe"]

[Text] Personal Data on Heinz Kessler

Colonel general, GDR deputy minister for national defense; chief, NVA Political Main Administration.

Son of a worker. Red young pioneer. Antifascist. Skilled mechanic. Joined the Red Army a few days after the fascists' attack on the Soviet Union. Co-founder of "National Committee Free Germany," covered frontline activities on its behest. Member of the SED Central Committee and of the People's Chamber.

[Question] World War II started 40 years ago. That is a memorable historic date for us, and not only in the negative sense. It reminds us we should never relax our activities on behalf of peace, particularly because some parts of the world and--what concerns us especially--the other German state have by no means as yet drawn the necessary conclusions from that date and from the painful experiences it brought in Europe. What parallels do you see between the causes of war at that time and the background for today's rush to arms, the renewed gamble of interfering in world politics by the force of arms?

[Answer] First let me say a few words about the consequences of World War II, which also have an emphatic lesson to teach us: Those among our citizens who in one way or another experienced the outbreak, course and consequences of World War II know that this war, first and foremost, was a boundless disaster for the nations, killed more than 50 million people and brought hardly conceivable material destruction. Because of those experiences alone,

the working people--the workers, the farmers, the scientists, the artists-- must find their main interest in seeking possibilities for preventing another war. And they must resolutely use those possibilities for frustrating any attempt by aggressive imperialist circles at polling for a fight. That, to me, is the most important lesson to be learned from World War II.

Informed with that lesson, it is indeed very important to look at the parallels between 1939 and 1979. In order to understand them we have to disclose the social and political roots for staging a war at that time and for politics toying with the idea of war today. As is well known, World War II was unleashed by German imperialism, by the most diabolical scheme of it, German fascism. And anyone who has studied the preparation and course of that war knows that influential forces in the so-called Western democracies believed they could direct, from the outset, Hitler fascism to turn against the east, that is, the Soviet Union, and they did quite a lot to make that come about. Poland was the first victim, and the ruling monopoly capitalist circles were rubbing their hands with glee assuming things would continue that way without letup. But then the executors of German imperialism suddenly turned against Western countries, which had not grasped as a warning Austria's subjugation in 1938. Remember the occupation of Scandinavian countries, the occupation and looting of France, the devastation of Dutch and Belgian villages and so forth.

[Question] The destruction of the Soviet Union, that is, the annihilation of socialism, having been the declared aim of German imperialism, is it not strange in that case for Hitler first to have invaded capitalist countries?

[Answer] Hitler Germany's strategy was not all that strange. Despite its enormous armaments effort, German imperialism did not feel strong enough as yet in that phase to take on the Soviet Union. Moreover, the big capitalist states England and France were irksome competitors for fascist Germany on the world market, and German monopoly capital looked at the manpower in those countries and their production capacities and raw material reserves as potentially exploitable material. What German imperialism thus was concerned with in 1939 and 1940 was first to establish the prerequisites for the great strike against the first socialist state in the world. Influential capitalist groups in those countries would have preferred, of course, for Hitler to have his divisions move against Moscow immediately. And not a few of them did in fact expect that would happen, as one can read over and over today in the memoirs of the Western politicians at that time. But they deceived themselves--as so often in history--about the intentions of the rapacious representatives of their own class in another country.

[Question] And equally deceived, as the further course of the war would show, were the pillars of German imperialism about the power of resistance from the Soviet Union and the morale of the Soviet people under communist party leadership. If we today, 40 years after the outbreak of the war, are deeply impressed in looking at the documentary, entitled "The Crucial Front," there still is amazement about some matters in spite of all the

experiences gathered in the meantime. The documents show, for example, how the German soldiers at that time moved ahead on the roads of the Soviet Union with some sort of naive optimism. As you already then stood with the Soviet Union and fought against that war, how do you in retrospect explain such delusion?

Imperialism's Dream: In Eastern Direction

[Answer] When the fascist army first attacked, it was that social demagoguery, anticommunism, race hatred and the mendacious revanchist clamor about the Peace Treaty of Versailles after the defeat in World War I, which presumably was an "infamy" that should have to be "erased," and so forth, that made the soldiers believe there was justification for a military surprise attack against those nations. To that was added the propaganda about the great profit the "German people" would reap by exploiting the Soviet people, the Soviet soil, and the erroneous claim the "suppressed" Soviet people would hardly put up any resistance. Moreover, up to the invasion of the Soviet Union, things seemed to have gone as desired for the fascists and their bosses. That helped repress ideas about the sacrifices they had then already sustained. Regrettably, they hardly gave any thought then to any other war causes and in no way recognized their own undoing. I myself talked in various places at that time, near Orjol, Kursk, Bryansk and elsewhere, with captured soldiers, NCO's, officers and generals of Hitler's Wehrmacht. I always kept asking them first why they had come to begin with, and whether they had meant to promote their own interests and the conditions for a good life in the future by destroying another nation, many thousand kilometers away from where they came from. There were hardly any cases where people, however deeply they were influenced by fascist ideology, could give me any answers. First they would be speechless and then they started to ponder, and many, during subsequent talks, got the idea they had been fooled and deceived and misused for goals and interests that were not their own. That is not to say they rapidly warmed up to progressive, let alone socialist, ideas. Not that. But the very fact that after having marched senselessly for many thousand kilometers, only to have their spiritual world collapse, that world into which they had been led to believe for many years, made them take stock.

[Question] What made you so early fight actively on the Soviet side for the end of the war?

[Answer] This is not likely to be the place to go into details about that. Only this much: Even before I was enlisted, because of the education I had received, I was antifascist, and for every antifascist, especially the communists, the struggle against the imperialist war and for the defense of the first socialist state in the world, and thus for peace, belongs among the irrevocable maxims of his life.

[Question] Any German soldier spared at the time, and mainly his children and grandchildren, should, after all that, have become somewhat smarter.

[Answer] That many of the "descendants" living in the FRG have not become smarter yet and again nourish illusions has something to do with the parallels you were talking about. The identical social forces that are responsible for the outbreak of World War II or their successors have been busy for 30 years recommending to people in the FRG and in other Western countries the same fateful path, even if, partly, by modified twists and lies. You probably are familiar with the argument: "Well, if Hitler only had not made any mistakes!" In other words, they seek to convince people in their sphere of supremacy that Hitler's war was, as such, all right and only the "mistakes" and the defeat of German imperialism had been something they had not anticipated. Essentially, the most reactionary forces today are promoting the same criminal goal. They are preparing the population for a war in various ways, exactly as they did prior to their sneak attack on the Soviet Union.

It must be added, however, that history does not simply repeat itself. World War II, as you know, ended with the defeat of fascism, of imperialism, of the capitalist order, and in its outcome demonstrated socialism prevailing. And this because the Soviet people defended peace, their workers and farmers power being constructed right then. And in its outcome, other socialist states emerged because their peoples had learned, and are still learning, the lessons of World War II. I do not want to go into details talking about the totally new situation that came about. Our citizens are well familiar with it. By our rendering impotent in our country the originators of the crimes against our people and other peoples, we also totally uprooted all that causes imperialist war. That there is the socialist community of states gave rise to the real possibility for preventing the outbreak of another world war through uniting all forces interested in peace and mobilizing all their possibilities.

[Question] Official FRG authorities and many citizens there, in their propaganda and in conversations, counter our criticism of their rush to arms and their gambling with another game of war by arguing that most FRG citizens were as little interested in war as the citizens in a socialist country. Certain dangerous sounds are being perceived, to be sure, but then they say that comes from those who are banking on another war adventure, from "fringe groups."

[Answer] Those who clamor for new weapons day after day and incessantly insinuate the socialist states are hugely ahead in armaments that have to be caught up with are certainly no fringe groups. It furthermore is known that the treaties on recognized borders created as the result of World War II are not accepted--officially or unofficially--in that state, though they are recognized in terms of international law. Publications there, which have much influence, brainwash the people every day they should have to "keep the German question open." What they instill in the citizens there, in one way or another, is that it is necessary to recapture what those who caused World War II, those who caused immeasurable suffering, in other words, gambled away. All conceivable reactionary forces have been allowed of late to make propaganda for revanchist demands quite openly, such as the demand for

reconstituting Germany within its 1937 borders. Various FRG laws contain "civil rights" pertaining to the citizens of the GDR, others refer to the "German nation as a whole," and so forth. All that is political-ideological preparation for aggression planned in the same thrust as once and as carried out by World War II. If one raises the question today--and it is an important question for determining the causes of war--who actually wants something from whom, these facts demonstrate they want something from us and are manipulating their citizens accordingly. And this is being done, as can easily be observed, with the intention of being able to use the citizens at any time that certain gentlemen do not like the way things go for another armed round--call it aggression--against the socialist states.

[Question] There must be many people in the FRG who want peace and who actively struggle for peace.

[Answer] No question about that. The number of those who defend peace is growing day after day, and their struggle is becoming more and more active. They have our fullest sympathy and support. The DKP, it must be said, plays an important role in its struggle for peace for the FRG people. But if we talk about the danger that comes from a state, we have to ask: What is it that the rulers think? What is the opinion of those who write the history textbooks for the children in the FRG? What is the opinion of those who control most of the publication media--mass publication newspapers like those published by the Springer Concern, television, radio and so forth? Those people, the opinion molders, are propagating, even if by different degrees, revanchist or aggressive ideas or, whenever they think it useful for **tactical political** reasons, are tolerating such ideas, are restraining themselves and pose as innocent neutral observers. There is, after all, no denying the fact that in the official history textbooks nothing is said about the social causes that led to World War II or about the effects that terrible war had on the working people, or that the presentations do not conform with the truth of history. We cannot ignore the fact that no school in the FRG is explaining the nature of fascism and its effects. And worse still, the patriots who want just that and are practicing it are being persecuted. Yet we know that instilling such historic blindness in young people leads to perilous results.

[Question] Maybe you have a topical example illustrating that?

[Answer] Millions of people in our republic saw in recent weeks the Soviet-U.S. documentary on World War II. As far as I know, the television corporations in many European states have this film series on their programs already or they have purchased it. One of the few states where the television corporations have refused to buy the film, let alone making it available for their audience soon, is the FRG. So you have to ask yourself: Is that what is meant by objective reporting? Why the refusal? Every person who has thus far seen the film knows that irrefutable documents about World War II were used for it, documents that tell the truth about the nature, course and outcome of World War II. And any person who honestly wants to take a position on those historic events and who sincerely wants himself and his

children to live in peace in the future, will sense emotions when seeing this film that strengthens his will to fight for peace and make him ask what he can do to banish such crimes forever from the life of the nations. Do they want to prevent in the FRG by not showing this film the people from beginning to think about it? Do they want that no one draw any conclusions?

The Function of a Legend

[Question] Such a film of course does not fit in either with theses meant to justify anticommunism and the arms race. One of the widespread ones, after all, is the claim of a "threat from the East."

[Answer] Here one has to say that the legend of the threat--and a legend it is--is not all that new. Where are those forces coming from actually that keep spreading that legend? They are gambling on that the generations that grew up after World War II do not know this lie, its purpose and its unmasking itself during World War II. At this point, all I can point out is that socialist policy was from the beginning and continues to be a peace policy. It started with the "peace decree" by which the young Soviet power addressed itself at the nations of the world and their governments. It continued in the League of Nations and crystallized in numerous disarmament and peace initiatives. After World War II and under the impact of its terrible consequences, this policy became the primary concern of the socialist community of states. At present, a number of peace proposals have once again been placed on the agenda, and among them are some that are going a long way toward taking into account requests by the capitalist states expressed previously. Strange it is, however, that they again are now dodging them, are delaying and, instead, are warming up the "legend of the threat."

Furthermore--and this is something I actually do not have to stress--in our country we have familiarized our youth with an image of history permitting genuine insight into the forces that are moving history. Thus we have no need for a legend. In the atmosphere that pervades the FRG, however, that kind of a legend of a threat has its effect. Nothing, after all, is being said about the imperialist response to the "peace decree," for instance, which consisted in having troops from almost all capitalist states break into the territory of the young Soviet power in order to suffocate the new society. Not a word is said about the reason why Soviet troops entered Berlin, it being because previously the fascist troops had appeared outside of Moscow, ready to destroy the city on Hitler's orders. The bloody intervention of from 1918 to 1923 had not been forgotten when the workers and farmers of the Soviet land once again had to pick up their weapons and, in a war unprecedented in history, defend themselves against a mighty, cruel enemy. Hitler, those who set him up and those who were doing his bidding, in preparation of their aggression also painted the danger of the "communist threat" onto the wall, and they made their people ideologically ready for a military campaign against the Soviet Union by means of a perfidious vocabulary--you may recall the word of the "Bolshevist subhumans."

[Question] One should think that the experiences with fascism and the alliance with the anti-Hitler coalition ought to have set an end to militant anticommunism and the desire to destroy socialism, is that not so?

[Answer] By no means. Historically, the most reactionary yet influential circles of the Western powers have demonstrably regarded that alliance as a temporary accord imposed by the emergency. The postwar period also is full of examples demonstrating that right after the end of the war they were pressing for a new trip in easterly direction. Also remember that not the Soviet Union was the first power to have produced and used nuclear weapons, but the United States. It dropped atomic bombs on Japanese cities without there being a military necessity for it. And it is also known that in the 1950's and 1960's imperialist circles toyed with the idea of erasing the Soviet Union by means of atomic weapons in order that way to stop or reverse progressive developments in the world. That too again was preceded by the propaganda--or the agitation--about the "communist danger." And that precisely at a time when the Soviet Union was coming out with numerous initiatives for making peace more secure.

Spirit and Mission

[Question] In your capacity as a colonel general you are responsible for the mission assigned to our NVA to fight weapon in hand in case of an imperialist aggression. The series, "The Crucial Front," once again documents how pitiless the imperialist enemy is and how bitterly one would have to fight if he should succeed in unleashing a war. Under such a condition, can peace preparedness and unconditional defense preparedness always be placed on the same denominator?

[Answer] It is not a matter of placing them on one and the same denominator. That is where they already are in our republic and their mission on behalf of the socialist army. Daily education is of course needed for molding the will for the determined defense of socialism. Our mission presupposes the knowledge and unmasking of the intentions of a potential aggressor. And especially from that point of view, respect for the achievements of other nations and for the specifics of their own independent existence is a cardinal aspect of the spiritual life in our NVA. Anyone who wants to find out and get at the facts may peruse the publications written for the NVA and the writings it publishes. He will find there only one thought serving as a spiritual guideline for our soldiers, NCO's and officers, namely: The mission of the workers and farmers power for you lies in protecting the achievements of socialism and in dedicating all your strength and abilities to preserving peace for our people, and thus for the other peoples too. No one can prove we have any other intentions, for they would be completely alien to us. In this sense then our army members of course are trained to resolutely defend our achievements by the ways and means handed to them.

[Question] Can you tell us something about how traditions are utilized for this spirit and this mission?

[Answer] Gladly. Among the NVA traditions is that troop components bear the names of personalities who worked for our people and achieved great things in the spirit of progress. We are thus focusing on model examples who in one way or other struggled against war and for peace and good neighborly relations among the nations as well as for a new social order that would serve the working people. Let me only mention here Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Ernst Thaelmann, passionate fighters against imperialist war and for international peace. We pay homage to the names of all fighters for peace. We take our clues from personalities like Karl von Ossietzky, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, or Arnold Zweig. Their struggle and their work are dear to us. But take a look at the FRG! The traditions cultivated in the Bundeswehr by no means focus on those historic personages who felt committed to humanism or fought for progress but on the exponents of militarist and even fascist ideas who have played such an ominous role in history, among them the originators of the aggression directed against the Soviet Union and other European nations. And whenever courageous and sincere soldiers of that army take part in demonstrations against revanchism, racism or anticommunism, in peace demonstrations and conferences, in other words, they are being defamed, if not punished for it. I think that also can give you an idea of the nature of that army and the mission it has.

[Question] The armaments propagandists know of course they are on very weak grounds when they deal with the motivation, the political and intellectual background of their rush to arms. For that reason they at times refrain today from politically or morally justifying the clamor for one weapon or another, for instance the neutron bomb. In a discussion of the neutron bomb by some FRG mass media special fault was found with there being "too much moral concern" involved. In addition to the well-known thesis on the "threat from Moscow," they fully concentrated there on the claim that the "East" was far ahead in armaments, for which reason one would have to "catch up."

What Is Your Position on Disarmament?

[Answer] They have no morality or, one should perhaps rather say, no morality that has anything in common with the morality of people who advocate peace. Here, in principle, one has to observe the following: We all are witnesses--and are happy to be witnesses--to the achievement of more than 30 years of peace maintained in Europe. In the history of Europe this is the first time that peace has been preserved this long. There are reasons for that. This only became possible by erecting insurmountable barriers for those who believe they can solve problems in interstate relations by the force of arms. Those forces would have a high price to pay for any aggression. The barriers were erected by the socialist community of states which today has a considerable political weight, a significant and constantly developing economic potential and--based on those two factors--the necessary military means for protecting and defending its peace-serving interests and for decisively striking down anyone who would want to touch our achievements. Any honest person will admit that the balance of power produced in the outcome of World War II and

in the course of the last 30 years has secured our peace since then. Therefore, whosoever would want to alter this power balance unilaterally, in favor of the imperialists and at the expense of the socialist states, wants to place peace in doubt. With that the socialist states cannot agree, not in their own interest or in the interest of the nations of Europe or even the nations of the whole world.

[Question] What about the balance of power? Under what conditions would you concretely favor disarmament?

[Answer] The military power ratio is more or less in balance as between the military blocs. That is even admitted by some highly placed representatives of capitalist states, of the United States, for instance. And as I said, this power balance must not be touched because that would conjure up new dangers. And so we are of the opinion that we certainly must have disarmament, yet always while protecting the interests and security of the participants. Then there remains the question of what the advantage would be in a disarmament proceeding from such principles. The advantage is obvious: The financial and material means and the manpower released could be invested in the solution of very urgent social and cultural tasks. How nice it would be if through those means more apartments, schools, cultural institutions, hospitals, sports arenas and so forth could be built. All I can say is this: We too could use those means very well for further developing the socialist society. And I am convinced the working people in the capitalist countries would be highly agreeable to finding the billions spent on arms rather made available for satisfying their social and cultural needs, especially if that were to eliminate the scourge of unemployment. Furthermore, if the other side were to accept our reasonable proposals, the danger of ominous armed conflict would be reduced. New areas would open up for a confident cooperation between states with differing social orders in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. SALT II proves that such agreements are possible.

[Question] Do you see possibilities for rapid disarmament progress and a perceptible improvement of the international climate?

[Answer] I would much wish such progress. In recent years, regrettably, and especially in recent months, influential groups in the imperialist countries have intensified their efforts of blocking disarmament, of moving toward confrontation, even aggression, while at the same time using the old theses of the "threat from the East" and discrediting socialism in every way. You know the U.S. Senate has not yet ratified SALT II, and there are now those most cunning advisors who, in case it gets ratified, recommend to arm all the more strongly in other areas instead. And remember Vietnam, Nicaragua, the Middle East and the certainly official announcements in an emergency they would have to seize strategic positions, the oil and other raw materials they have lost, or do not possess, by force. The United States has organized a "task force" to that end. All that they are seeking to justify, demagogically, through the claim of the "communist danger." It all underscores this

absolute necessity: The millions of people who are defending our peace must struggle each day anew for advances in the disarmament field, must turn down each day the slander and distortions that serve to justify mobilization and unmask the intentions behind it. Each day we must struggle in trying to boost the army of peace advocates and the active fighters for peace. In all this we have to be vigilant and operationally ready. I am optimistic because we know of our conformity with all nations in the world which need peace in order to be able to construct a happy future for themselves.

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CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

IMPROVEMENT OF CRIME PROSECUTION, PREVENTION STRESSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 139, 12 Sep 79 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "Inadequate Crime Prevention Criticized." A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article discussed below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin law journal NEUE JUSTIZ has come out with criticism of the inadequate activities by the public prosecutors in the GDR in crime prevention. As surveys had shown, a lot was still "falling by the wayside" in this field. That should have to be changed because the uncovering of law violations aiding and abetting crimes and their rigorous elimination were not subject to the personal consideration of the public prosecutor but legal obligation. Especially trial procedures should be used more effectively for crime prevention. Measures needed in this connection should neither be omitted nor carried out deficiently. In spite of perceptible advances there was still a "lot of formalism" in this regard, incompatible with the political purpose of the public prosecutor's supervisory function.

Coordination of Legal Functions

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 33 No 8, Aug 79 pp 338-340

[Article by Gerhart Mueller, public prosecutor, GDR Office of General Prosecuting Attorney: "Current Tasks of General Legal Supervision of the Public Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] The guidance issued at the 10th session of the SED Central Committee, to follow always and everywhere the overall interests of the GDR,¹ is tantamount to the demand the party has repeatedly emphasized for an unconditional respect for the law. No one is allowed to slight existing legal demands for any reason, and that includes so-called utility considerations for enforcing industrial, branch-directed, regional or partial special interests which run counter to social requirements. Socialist law, from

the vantage point of uniform state policy, which serves the interests of the working class in power and of all the working people, is itself an expression of supreme utility and binding on everyone.

The increasing importance gained by socialist law as an instrument for the state management of the socialist society calls for making increasingly more effective the guarantees for its strict observance. One of these guarantees is the general legal supervision of the public prosecutor's office. It is not confined either by the greater responsibility the state and economic organs assume themselves for insuring legality or by the noticeably greater social activities for implementing laws in a conscious way.

Unity of Prosecution, General Legal Supervision and Law Propaganda

At present the general legal supervision concentrates on uncovering, eliminating and effectively preventing law violations which would aid and abet crimes.² We also apply the legal means of general law supervision (for instance the demand for an investigation, protest and show-cause, the demand for damages, and the start of disciplinary or breach of the peace proceedings) in order to react to law violations or suspect conditions that came to the notice of the public prosecutor's office by reports sent in from the citizens or other information.

The main task of the public prosecutor's office, to make crime fighting and prevention more effective, calls for enormous efforts. It includes the need to uncover and eliminate the causes and favoring conditions of crimes. Not rarely this involves law violations to which the public prosecutor must react by means of general law supervision, unless investigative organs have already initiated appropriate measures for their elimination.

But, as surveys have shown, a lot "falls by the wayside" here still. That has to be changed. Uncovering law violations aiding and abetting crimes and their rigorous elimination are not subject to the personal consideration of the public prosecutor but a legal obligation, a mission the Constitution assigns to the public prosecutor's office.

It would make no sense to make relatively great efforts anywhere in looking for law violations as long as legal proceedings are not, or not fully, utilized. There are considerable reserves here for the needed improvement of the social effectiveness of general law supervision. The general prosecuting attorney of the GDR has assigned a high rank to this task of tapping those reserves.

It involves improving the effectiveness of criminal proceedings and that of crime fighting and prevention on the whole. It also involves, however--and this must not be overlooked--improving the public prosecutor's influence in general on the strict abiding by and uniform application of our law

as a means of enforcing the policy of the workers-and-farmers power. This requirement of principle, resulting from the Constitution and the public prosecutor's law and not explained solely, not even primarily, by the requirements for crime prevention, has not been charged by the guideline that wishes to reinforce general law supervision by primarily making use of trial proceedings themselves.

The public prosecutors have to take that into account completely in their work. It means not being satisfied with the application of legal means of general law supervision to any one crime investigation or any report sent in by a citizen. It is more important than ever now to develop analytical work. In order to attain high social effectiveness, it is necessary systematically and regularly to analyze the essential results and experiences in general law supervision and to use the insights thus gained into law violations and their causes systematically, on the kreis, bezirk and central levels, for improving the overall level of legality.

In sum it may be said about all this that the entire activity of the public prosecutor's office, where heading the fight against crime plays the largest role of course, is one of inseparable unity. With all the specifics handled by the various branches of supervision, such as the different objects of supervision pertaining to legality in criminal proceedings and in general law supervision, the intention is not to render the various branches of supervision independent. What is important rather is bringing the capacity of the public prosecutor's office into play as cohesively as possible by exhausting all legal means at its command and focusing on unified main emphasis aspects. This, as experience has confirmed, is a crucial condition for a high social efficacy of all our public prosecutors' supervisory activity. In this sense also it is necessary to understand the unity of prosecution, general law supervision and law propaganda.

Relevance for the General Law Supervision

In socialist society the deliberate and voluntary abiding by legal norms is known to be the main form and, with it, the essential guarantee for making law effective. Lenin's thesis that socialist legality can be enforced successfully only if the masses of the workers and farmers help with it³ also proves itself as wholly valid in our days. The working people's readiness and ability in involving themselves in strictly abiding by the laws and other legal regulations are improving constantly. That finds its expression in various ways, not last in the mass movement for exemplary order, discipline and security.

All the more does this commit the public prosecutor's office to making general law supervision relevant. The public prosecutors respond to this mainly by relying deliberately on the workers and the other working people in their general law supervision. That includes, for example, the well tested method of explaining the tasks of supervision in the work collectives.

They thereby contribute systematically to raising class vigilance, reinforcing socialist law consciousness and developing and promoting social initiatives for crime fighting and prevention. Simultaneously, the public prosecutors use their close ties with the work collectives of the working people for exposing their own work to public controls and seeking prudent advice from the workers. This they will get all the more fully the more value they themselves attach to rendering every measure in supervision in a clear language and understandable and convincing for everyone.

In supervisory measures for eliminating observed illegalities, one must, in principle, not confine oneself to explaining the matter by written means and solely to the responsible executives. In the struggle for further consolidating legality, we must, as pointed out even by Lenin, deal with law violations in public "not so much for reasons of heavy penalties but for giving it publicity and for destroying the general notion that crimes may be committed with impunity."⁴

A principle of general law supervision, as well as of the public prosecutors' activity at large, is that this is carried out as vivid and mobilizing activity involving the people. That compels us always to proceed from the political content of any given legal norms, to investigate whether they are observed and to reprove or punish their violations. The pertinent supervisory measures have to be applied with political discernment. In each case the public prosecutor has to ask himself beforehand and be sure which political-ideological goal is intended by it and how it can best be achieved.

High-Grade Supervisory Measures

There is a quantitative and a qualitative side to the task of reinforcing general law superv. 'on right out of the criminal proceedings themselves. Both sides must be given equal attention. Necessary supervisory measures must neither be omitted nor must they be deficient in themselves. In this respect, perceptible advances have been made. But there still is quite a lot of formalism. Formal we call activities which, essentially, can bring about no changes and which--as it sometimes seems--were only undertaken to cut a good figure, statistically speaking. That is incompatible with the political content of the public prosecutor's supervisory function.

Protests, reminders and other pertinent measures in the Public Prosecutors Law Article 31 are meaningful and appropriate only if they can cause concrete changes in the area in which the law violations were committed. These changes must pertain either to the elimination of the law violation or--if that is no longer possible (for instance, when controls were omitted illegally) and the circumstances suggest the danger of recidivism--to preventing future law violations. When nothing any longer is to be changed, because the responsible chief has, for instance, already taken all the necessary measures, no supervisory measures are left to be taken by the public prosecutor. An example can explain what is meant:

A combine management noticed irregularities had occurred in one of the enterprises in taking action on innovator recommendations. The investigation commission appointed thereupon by the combine manager established the innovator order had been grossly violated (recognition of recommendations as innovator recommendations though they lacked all legal criteria, faulty cost accounting, excessive kickback). Fraud being suspected, the matter was reported. The suspicion, however, turned out to be unjustified. The combine manager thoroughly analyzed the matter, had it properly aired and made arrangements so that such law violations could not happen in the future. The ones at fault got fines and some had to make up damages. Nothing else was to be done. In spite of that, the public prosecutor's office registered a complaint afterwards with the combine manager.

That procedure contradicts the basic concern of the general law supervision, since its task is to see to it "that the managers of state organs, economic management organs, combines, enterprises and facilities, cooperative boards and the management of social organizations assume their responsibility for enforcing socialist legality and insuring order and security and consistently meet the obligations connected with it" (Public Prosecutors Law Article 2 Section 2). Exactly what the combine manager had done. He should actually have received recognition for it. A protest--and the same would be true for a reminder and other measures in accordance with Public Prosecutors Law Article 31--is the very opposite of what would have been right in this case.

A reminder is what is issued in the normal case of law violations, in conformity with legal differentiation criteria. Protest is called for only in the case of serious or repeated law violations, when decisions (directives, for instance) or normal arrangements (for instance, in industrial labor regulations) violate socialist legality (cf. Public Prosecutors Law Article 31 Section 2). The same substantive and qualitative requirements govern both types, however. That is to say, each of these supervisory measures presupposes an unequivocal evidence for law violations that have to be worked out in juridical precision. Protest and reminder must be such that he who receives one clearly recognizes the nature of the measure as a state reaction to an illegality determined in his area of responsibility, is made aware of his personal responsibility to insuring legality, and is induced to meet it to the fullest.

Responses by some managers to a reminder from the public prosecutor's office sometimes indicate they do not always take it as serious criticism and as a demand for obligatory legal conduct but rather as some casual information or mere instruction in the law. In cases like that the public prosecutor has failed to be convincing. The reminder--designated as such though it says nothing about its legal character and function--either was legally not cogent or insufficiently explained juridically. Political-juridical high-quality work, required for every case, is however an indispensable prerequisite for its being effective. Not least, it also is a matter of the public prosecutor's standards of professionalism.

Frequently there is only a suspicion that a law has been violated. It may result from statements by witnesses, for instance, or from answers given by persons charged or accused when charged. As no protest or reminder may be based on a unilateral charge, the public prosecutor in such cases normally requests an investigation from a responsible executive in order to clear the matter up completely, provided it cannot be cleared up through investigative or criminal proceedings or the public prosecutor cannot ascertain what is what in situ or it does not seem suitable to assign the case to a control organ. If the grounds for suspicion are rather general, so that they would only permit some general questioning, no request is made for an investigation but, in accordance with Public Prosecutors Law Article 30 Section 1, an explanation is demanded.

Requirements for Investigation Request

An investigation request (Public Prosecutors Law Article 30 Section 2) has to explain the circumstances that have led to the suspicion a law was violated, what concrete legal provisions were possibly violated by what kinds of actions, and which matters have to be investigated and clarified within a time frame the public prosecutor's office deems appropriate in view of the anticipated investigative effort and the urgency of the case. The questions must be legally important, that is to say, they must be derived from the possibly violated provisions and formulated concretely. On the concreteness of the questions and their legal relevance depends whether the answers provided for the public prosecutor in the outcome of the investigation permit a precise legal ruling on the substance of the case investigated or not.

Sometimes investigation requests lead nowhere because the questions raised were not right. This is mostly the case when the questions are directed, not at concrete facts but, merely in general terms, at the observance or implementation of one legal provision or another. To give an example: In criminal proceedings about a theft to the detriment of socialist property, the remarks made by the accused ("the stuff was just lying around and no one cared about it") led to the suspicion that the enterprise concerned did not exercise much care for the legally required inventories and controls over the whereabouts of valuable materials and tools. Thereupon the public prosecutor sent an investigation request to the responsible manager, which was the right thing to do. In that request, the legal regulations that might have been violated were properly referred to, to be sure, but the questions that were asked to ascertain the concrete circumstances and to obtain a legal opinion about them were not appropriate. It left unexplained why the materials were lying around on the premises of the enterprise without being secured when they should have been kept under lock and key; why the loss had not been discovered although an inventory had meanwhile been taken; and whether it was correct that equipment obliged to be traceable was given out without any receipts to members of the enterprise and who was personally responsible for that.

Only when questions address the heart of the matter and allow no dodges or meaningless replies does the investigation request fulfill substantive and qualitative requirements. Any further supervisory measures by the public prosecutor's office normally also become redundant in such cases where the investigation has ascertained that a law was violated because the responsible manager has been alerted to it by the investigation request and has been induced to do everything necessary for restoring legality. In this regard it has been found useful in the investigation request to direct at the addressee, in addition to the questions concerning the matter under investigation, the following demand: "In case the suspicion of the law violation is confirmed, list the causes and facilitating conditions basic to it, who is personally responsible for the law violation, whether and how it has in the meantime been eliminated, and whether the guilty persons have in the meantime been punished or which measures have been initiated for their punishment."

Delimitation from Reminders According to Article 19 Section 1 in the Code of Criminal Procedure

The public prosecutor's office rules exclusively from the standpoint of legality. It has the supervision over the strict observance of the laws and other legal regulations of the GDR but not--insofar as they allow a certain leeway of application--their purposeful, economic, effective or rational administration. When it is not a matter of whether a law was violated but whether there is a better way of putting it into effect, then the legal means of general law supervision can play no part in it. Its application presupposes that the legal regulations, the observance of which was to be investigated or demanded, contain definitive provisions no longer subject to modification. In other words: The legal obligations have to be unequivocal and demand very definite conduct not dependent on concrete conditions in any enterprise.

Not infrequently it happens in investigative and criminal proceedings that the facilitating conditions appearing, while legally relevant, are yet no law violations because, in principle, legal requirements have been met. That is the case, for instance, when the offender succeeded in discovering a gap in the intraplant control system that otherwise meets legal requirements and in using that gap for committing his crime. Then an enterprise cannot be blamed for any law violation, and a protest or reminder in terms of Public Prosecutors Law Article 31 becomes inapplicable. The situation is different, however, when legally demanded controls were omitted or carried out improperly.

When supervisory measures are not admissible but the question arises whether on behalf of more effective crime prevention it would not be advisable, and possible with respect to the concrete conditions in an enterprise, to make certain changes, an appropriate reminder in accordance with Article 19 Section of the Code of Criminal Procedure should be addressed to the competent manager. With that, certain recommendations

may be combined, especially from drawing general rules from good experiences. The decision on that, however, resides solely with the legal responsibility of the manager concerned. He, of course, is obligated to check the data and suggestions carefully and to do everything he can that is required and possible for further improving order, discipline and security.

It follows from what has been said that the public prosecutor's office has various legal means by which it must react to conditions facilitating crimes, depending on whether we deal with law violations or not. Irrespective of this difference, however, what all these measures have in common is that it is always a matter of instilling legality. That is a deeply political task which will continue to demand an aggressive commitment from every public prosecutor.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "10. Tagung des Zentralkomitees der SED. Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen E. Honecker" (Tenth SED Central Committee Session--From the Concluding Speech by Comrade E. Honecker), Berlin, 1979, p 195.
2. See also H. Harrland, "Incessantly Striving for the Consolidation of Socialist Legality," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 3, 1979, p 103.
3. Cf. Lenin, "Werke" (Works), Vol 26, pp 293-295; Vol 27, pp 120-122, pp 244-247; Vol 33, pp 56 and 165.
4. Ibid., Vol 36, p 544.

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CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BORDER TROOP MORALE AFFECTED BY LONG HOURS, HARD DUTY

Munich BAYERNKURIER in German 18 Aug 79 p 5

[Article by Horst Guenter Tolmein: "GDR Border Troops: Heavy Weapons, Hard Duty--Artillery Armament and the Reach for the Bottle"]

[Text] Behavior on approach consists of aimed shots from the new model AK-47 machine pistol, the Kalashnikov assault rifle of the "GDR" border troops. Victims of the 7.62 mm shots can even be expected if, for example, some wounded refugee has crossed the border fence but is still lying on "GDR" territory. Were a West German to hurry over to help the wounded man, he would be risking his life.

A wounded person on the other side of the border fence has no claim to assistance. The humanity of the border soldiers is limited by their orders: they may at least throw a bandage packet to a wounded man. "But what if the wounded 'border violator' is unconscious?" asked a border soldier under instruction on shooting on the border. "Throwing a bandage packet is enough in any case!" he was taught.

The barely 50,000 border soldiers of the "GDR" form quite a special troop unit: It is no longer, as before 1973, a component force of the National People's Army (NVA)--probably in order to keep them out of troop reduction talks--, but they are subordinate, as before, to the "Ministry of National Defense" in Strausberg near Berlin.

The "Command of the Border Troops" is in Paetz. Subordinate to it are the officers' school in Plauen, and the NCO school in Potsdam, probably also the border scout school at Stintenburg, on an island in Schaal Lake, close to the border of Schleswig-Holstein. In addition the following belong to it: the "Border Section Poland Border Troop Commando" and that for CSSR--at the moment in regimental strength, and especially the three "Border Commandos"; "North" in Stendal with six border and two training regiments; "South" in Erfurt with six border and two training regiments, and "Middle" in Gross-Glienicke with a table of organization diverging from them: There, in the ring around West Berlin, there are also six border and two training regiments, and also a boat

company, engineering and communications troops. But the distinguishing feature is to be found particularly in the two training regiments, No 39 (Berlin-Koepenick) and No 40 (Schloss Oranienburg). Each of these two regiments possesses five training companies, and in addition each has staff, transport-and-supply, communications companies, antitank (Pak) and mortar sections (section-battalion). Each section is divided into three batteries. Pak and mortars are included in the artillery in the Border Troops and in the NVA.

Ring Around Berlin

Furthermore, in the Bruno Kuehn Barracks in Schildow, there is a section of border regiment No 38 which is equipped with multiple rocket-launchers--the successors of the "Stalin organs." Are the border troops in the ring around Berlin supposed to shoot at individual refugees with antitank weapons, mortars, and salvo guns? Of course not. The border troops of the Middle Commando seldom perform their duties at the wall across Berlin and the border fences between the "GDR" and West Berlin. They rate, rather, as elite troops, which much more often conduct infantry training with emphasis on street fighting than do other border units of the "GDR." Into this picture fits also the fact that the border regiments around Berlin are heavily equipped with BTR-40 wheeled armored guns and Hungarian FUG-70 wheeled amphibious reconnaissance tanks.

The largely automated border security at the wall and the metal mesh fence around West Berlin make it possible to exercise surveillance over the whole Berlin border mainly with one additional regiment, the GUEST (border crossing point) Regiment. While a normal border regiment has a strength of 1,300 men, the GUEST Regiment has only 750. It is stationed in the Husemann Barracks in Niederschoenhausen. Parts of the remaining border regiments take turns guarding individual sectors, so that 450 border soldiers are continually checking the border crossing points and 650 are "guarding" the wall and the border fence. The total strength of the Middle Commando is something over 12,000 men, however.

The Border Troops Artillery around Berlin has existed for some time. The fact that the border regiments on the demarcation line with the Federal Republic are also now being equipped with heavy weapons is new, however. These are the Soviet-produced recoilless cannon bearing the Russian designation "Stankovyy Protivotankovyy Granatomet-9, abbreviated: SPG-9. This is an antitank gun on tripod carriage which shoots fin-stabilized hollow-shaped charge shells which are accelerated by rocket propulsion after leaving the barrel. The caliber is 73 mm, the range, 1,000 meters.

Every fourth platoon of a border troop company now possesses two SPG-9's, and every border regiment has 12 companies and hence 24 such guns. What they are to be used for is known only to the Commando of the Border Troops. NATO tanks will certainly not overrun the border installations of the "GDR" in an attack.

The Federal Border Guard is to reduce further its few remaining lightly armored "special cars," which are, moreover, available much more for the protection of the Bonn authorities than deployed on the demarcation line.

The SPG-9 could thus serve only to improve the morale of the "GDR" border troops themselves. It has never been as high as the "GDR" rulers wished, and recently has sunk still further. It has been shown that it is not possible to eliminate all humanity from among 50,000 soldiers. The draftees serving in the border troops are selected for their political reliability. Actually they are mostly convinced of the necessity of their work in the first months of service. But the longer they patrol their sections of the strip along the wire mesh fence, the more boring for them becomes their observation of the dead territory, the more often they get into conflict situations or hear about them, and the more their attitude to border service changes.

For Defense Against What Tanks?

Finally they yearn for the end of their terms of service, and daily cut 1 centimeter off their tape measures—1 centimeter for each day closer to discharge. Often enough they then show their tape measures to the Federal Border Guard patrols on the other side of the high fence. This misdemeanor is punished with 7 days arrest. But they still continue to display their tape measures. The noncommissioned officers, who serve for 3 years, act not much differently. They are often undisciplined in the final year of service. The sergeants, who serve 12 or 25 years, appear to be much more reliable. The "border scouts" are chosen from among the most fanatical of them, but even among them impatience with the mind-deadening service appears.

The younger career officers hear enough about the dull service on the border at the Rosa Luxemburg Officers' School in Plauen. Older comrades advise them to marry as soon as possible--only in this way can the life be borne. But since whole classes have been getting this advice, the supply of Plauen girls has been thoroughly picked over. Some often marry on very short acquaintance. If the divorce quota of the "GDR" is alarmingly high, the officer corps of the Border Troops holds the divorce record.

On the other hand the older officers have long come to terms with their lot. They generally are regarded as reliable in the view of the regime, know that thinking does not pay, and that having one's own opinion is not only inconvenient but highly dangerous. What is left to them is alcohol, and they are all too fond of it.

The older officers and the border scouts are therefore those who execute orders recklessly. The average number of apprehensions of persons suspected of fleeing in the area back of the border by border scouts, by quarter and by battalion sector (25-35 kilometers long, depending on terrain) is between 30 and 50 persons.

6108

CSO: 2300

FUNCTIONS OF LAY ASSESSORS DESCRIBED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 12, Aug 79 pp 11-12

[Report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Activity of Lay Assessors in the GDR"]

[Text] During the past few weeks approximately 50,000 lay assessors were sworn in in the GDR and they have begun their activities. In connection with the May municipal elections, they were selected from Unity lists of the National Front and called to serve as lay assessors. They are executing their duties primarily in kreis courts which have original jurisdiction for all civil, criminal, domestic and labor disputes. Dr Hackel, director of the Stendal Kreis Court, wrote an article which appeared in the monthly journal DER SCHOEFFE, entitled "Lay Assessor Activities--Execution of Political Power." He presents the basic principles and discusses the selection, duties and training of lay assessors from the vantage point of his kreis court.

Hackel pointed to the fact that the honorary lay assessors had the same rights and duties as full-time professional judges, and he outlined their functions as follows:

--"Their valuable, manifold experience and accomplishments enable them to aim their extrajudicial activities at making substantial contributions to the administration of justice and to participate in the prevention of criminal acts and other violations of laws, the education of law-abiding citizens and the propaganda for justice. Thus, they are exercising political power while implementing socialist laws. This demonstrates the inseparable unity between socialist democracy, socialist justice, socialist administration of justice and people as essential elements and objective requirements of our socialist society."

The success of the Stendal Kreis Court in executing pending processes "speedily and effectively" during the first few months of this year can in large part be attributed to the readiness of lay assessors. Hackel stated:

--"More than half of the criminal proceedings are conducted within a period of 14 days. There is hardly any work left on the docket. We have now attained a situation which makes possible speedy settlements of legal matters of citizens who are seeking justice. It is an expression of high-quality performance and effective leadership methods and, last but not least, some credit must also go to our lay assessors. Particularly in recent weeks, we have been trying to increase and speed up proceedings against rowdies and antisocial people in order to impose upon them quick and just punishment or regulated, orderly work. Without the active cooperation of lay assessors it would not be feasible."

Hackel mentioned that in Stendal Kreis 262 lay assessors had been elected, 100 of whom had for the first time been candidates for the office of lay assessor. Hackel stated: "The pool of lay assessors at the Stendal Kreis Court is good. The lay assessors are able to render a well-founded and qualified verdict and also guarantee comprehensive legal propaganda and education."

Hackel described the selection criteria for lay assessors, among whom there are many municipal delegates and members of arbitration and conflict commissions, as follows:

--"A person can be a lay assessor only if he is loyal to the people and to his socialist state and if he possesses a high degree of knowledge and experience, human maturity and firmness of character. They are citizens who are good examples in their work, in their social and personal behavior and who possess the respect as well as trust of citizens. An investigation as to their suitability, their introduction, nomination and election proves that they met these prerequisites."

Statistics about the elections of lay assessors indicate that:

--because of expanding court duties the number of lay assessors was increased;
--women constitute 50 percent;
--workers and collective farmers make up approximately 70 percent; and,
--altogether, a rejuvenation has been accomplished,

The qualification and training of lay assessors--incidentally, this applies to all kreis courts--takes place, first of all, by using them in courts, through regular participation in training sessions, participation in lay-assessor collectives and through self-study.

According to Hackel's statements, the Stendal Kreis Court trains lay assessors in three circles per quarter. Newly-elected lay assessors receive preliminary instructions which are supposed to transmit to them an overview of the substance and organizational problems of the court and the focal points for lay-assessor activities.

When lay assessors are used, care is taken that three newly-elected lay assessors always work together with lay assessors who have many years of experience "to better familiarize themselves with the material by watching a concrete example." Nevertheless, the Stendal Kreis Court director criticized the fact that the average attendance at these training sessions was only around 70 percent.

The lay assessors of an enterprise form a lay-assessor collective. In addition to the actual lay-assessor activities, the collectives have to perform the following functions:

- evaluating criminal proceedings in enterprises to establish cause and favorable conditions,

- guaranteeing the collective education of exoffenders and criminally endangered citizens in the enterprise,

- supporting the reintegration into social life of persons released from sentences,

- "helping" members of the enterprise in making decisions "about the participation of workers as collective representatives, social plaintiffs or defenders, as bondsmen in judicial proceedings" and "explaining socialist law extensively."

9991

CSO: 2300

STATUS OF, PLANS FOR GYPSIES REVIEWED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 5 Aug 79 p 4

[Round table discussion in the editorial offices of NEPSZAVA in Budapest between Dr. Lajos Papp, president of the Council of Ministers Regional Office, Mrs Otto Kovacs, secretary of the Gyor-Sopron megye gypsy coordinating committee, Mr Zoltan Fabian, director of the "Csili" community center of the Budapest Council of Trade Unions, Gustav Balazs, Szabolcs Megye teacher, Dr Jozsef Vekerdí, researcher and gypsy specialist and Szabolcs Szunyogh, member of NEPSZAVA editorial office. Date not given: "Gypsy Concerns and Society"]

[Text] In the recent past the government debated the situation of the gypsy population. Even from the documents it appears that we may be witnessing the advancement of the gypsy population in Hungary today. We may report impressive results. Eighteen years ago 75 percent of the people of gypsy origin lived in hygienically unsatisfactory settlements--to put it bluntly, in hovels. Today this proportion has fallen to 25 percent, and the situation will improve further in the future in the wake of government measures.

Not only has the state made efforts to solve the problem, but so have those of gypsy origin themselves. This is attested by the fact, for example, that today 90 percent of gypsy men are steadily employed, and even among the women--among whom there are many mothers with several children--this proportion reaches 40-50 percent. In other areas as well we may report fine results. In our country before the war the overwhelming proportion of gypsies had no schooling. Today 90 percent of the children are enrolled in primary school, more and more are finishing the eight year, are acquiring skilled worker training, and a good many go on to get a diploma.

In a few decades, however, it is not possible fully to do away with the several centuries' backwardness of the gypsies. This fact is a source of very great concern. In order to get a realistic picture of the present situation and of the things to be done, we convened an editorial round table discussion. The participants in the exchange of ideas were State Secretary Dr Lajos Papp, president of the Regional Office of the Council of Ministers, Mrs Otto Kovacs, secretary of the Gyor-Sopron megye gypsy

coordinating committee, Zoltan Fabian, director of the "Csili" community center of the SZBT [Szakszervezetek Budapest Tanácsa, the Budapest Council of Trade Unions], Gusztav Balazs, Szabolcs megye teacher, and Dr Jozsef Vekerdi, researcher and gypsy expert. Szabolcs Szunyogh represented our newspaper office.

NEPSZAVA: In your opinion, what are the most serious issues in the gypsy question?

Dr Lajos Papp: We must still also struggle with issues inherited from the past, such as, for example, illiteracy, or the fact that a good many gypsy people still live in hovels. But it may also be stated that the majority of problems now result from development. In the last decade and a half the improvement of the situation of the gypsy population has been more dynamic than at any time previously. The process of integrating them has also speeded up, and it is a cause for joy that gypsies and non-gypsies alike are assisting and supporting this integration. We must strengthen this attitude further. It is, naturally, indispensable to this that we also speak about the issues. It is still a concern, for example, that a significant number of people of gypsy origin work for only a short time, with interruptions, in one work place. To put it bluntly: the result is that 90 percent of the men are now regularly employed, and our present task now arises from this situation, namely, to foster their remaining at steady jobs. From this it follows that plants must not only employ gypsy youth, but must with every facility support their further studies and must let them acquire a trade. Liking and respect for work, for a trade, is a fundamental condition for their further advancement.

NEPSZAVA: Yet with many gypsy youth the necessary inclination to study is lacking because, among other reasons, they lead lives without any prospect for the future. Given a man with 4-6 children, whether a laborer or a skilled worker, he is not able to earn enough to scrape together money for housing.

Dr Lajos Papp: It is a fact that the income of gypsies is generally low, but why? There is no difference in the wages of people of gypsy origin and non-gypsies working in the identical field. Since the majority of them are unskilled laborers and semi-skilled workers with large families, their monthly income per family member deriving from work is smaller. Therefore for this reason, as well, there is a need for study, for acquiring a trade. The second substantial question is the housing situation. The change is heartening, but we cannot be satisfied. We must help them--primarily those living in settlements and those with lower incomes--to move to more humane housing circumstances. A great many gypsy people have already gotten apartments, but this has not yet completely dispelled their housing worries, either. Young people get married early, and two generations have difficulty finding room together in the older type of small apartment. Therefore young people must be helped into new homes, while people with large families must be helped to get larger dwellings. At the time of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, they received assistance to build or to buy 11,000 dwellings; in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the government will also assist in their acquisition of dwellings.

NEPSZAVA: We know there are also impediments that make it a hopeless route for the person desirous of getting out of a settlement. They may receive a construction loan of 140,000 forints altogether. The trouble is not only that this amount is tiny, but--and mainly--that they may receive even this only if they possess the 10 percent advance-savings share and the credit-supplement amount. It is not likely that a gypsy family living in a hovel can scrape together this much money.

Dr Lajos Papp: Indeed, this is a real problem. The government has also taken the position that in future the subsidy must approach housing-construction costs. But as concerns the advance savings: it is possible to reduce or eliminate this depending on family circumstances.

NEPSZAVA: A large number of the gypsies live in villages, but council apartments are not being built there. Therefore many needy gypsies are not able to move to apartments.

Dr Lajos Papp: One of the keys to the solution is indeed a re-examination of the present situation. We must examine how it would be possible to help the elderly, those with large families, or those who cannot undertake financial burdens to get cheaper housing even in the villages. Several methods offer themselves for this. In addition to the possibility of a council apartment, quite a number of peasant houses are falling vacant in the villages, and by purchasing these it would also be possible to assist them in getting housing.

Mrs Otto Kovacs: In Gyor megye, the situation is basically good. It is a cause of especially great joy for me that the most burning housing issues of the gypsies are being alleviated. It is understandable that I am very happy, because I myself am also of gypsy origin. There were 22 settlements in the territory of the county. We have already succeeded in eliminating 19. I must say, however, that the attitude of the population in the villages still causes many problems. Several of our housing purchases have fallen through because the neighbors bought the empty houses, although they had no need of them, only to keep gypsies from moving in.

Dr Lajos Papp: It is a fact that there are also people who do not understand why it is necessary increasingly to support the gypsies. But there are also those--fortunately, more and more--who do understand that by this assistance we are aiding their social integration.

Gusztav Balazs: I live in Szabolcs, and perhaps in this megye the majority of us are gypsies. I agree with Comrade Papp that the gypsies must be increasingly supported. When I was still in college I prepared a report on what the level of training for family life is among us. I found that very many gypsy people work hard in order to create a family life adequate to the requirements of our society. I regard this as very important, but I have to say that there is a need for great assistance. Because it is true that we receive a great deal from the state, from society, and thus the situation of the gypsies is improving, but the living standard of the non-gypsy population is also increasing, and the difference remains. But

the integration of the gypsies will be impeded if this difference does not disappear, or does not decrease. For many gypsies--even if wrongly--think: "Why am I slaving away, if I cannot catch up with the non-Gypsies?" And they do not work, and they live an irregular family life, and they do not send their children to school, and they are then ignorant. How are they to get ahead?

Mrs Otto Kovacs: In my opinion, too, the demand for schooling of the child is connected with his home environment. Certainly in Gyor megye we still do not stand as well in this regard as on the housing issue. Only 20-25 percent of gypsy children finish primary school, there are only a few of our young people in secondary school, while in colleges and universities there are even fewer. In the fall, too, we prepared a survey, and it turned out that of 595 gypsy people who are working regularly, 177 are illiterate. It is not likely then that among parents who can neither read nor write there are very many who want to send their children to school. For this reason we must also concern ourselves with the parents. Not only so that they learn to write their name, but also in order for us to draw them a little into the life of the society. In addition to instruction, clubs, self-study groups, etc., would be appropriate for this.

Zoltan Fabian: Our observations, too, show that when we deal with the children, then we also deal with their parents. Parents also come to the majority of children's programs. And if they like the thing, they will leave their children with us. By the way, the number of gypsies coming to us regularly is 300-400. In the district there live approximately 4500 gypsies altogether. While it is therefore true that we deal with only a small number, we have achieved results with them. Among 32 children participating in the reading camp, 9 became regular visitors to the children's library. Through our gypsy club, a good number of people have succeeded in getting into the workers' school. The key to all this is emotional linkage. They liked the club director very much, for example, and since the club director is a professor and also teaches them, his class achieved the best results.

Mrs Otto Kovacs: It is very important that those who have taken up the gypsy cause as a personal task also understand "gypsy." I am not thinking now of the language, but of their understanding, and being fully aware of, the problem.

NEPSZAVA: But language is not incidental, either. According to some opinions, one-third of gypsy children do not understand Hungarian, and thus they fail in school.

Dr Jozsef Vekerdi: This view, unfortunately, is fairly widespread, but it is, in my opinion, completely false. The results of my research demonstrate that in Hungary there are very few children who could express themselves more correctly, more precisely, or better in gypsy than in Hungarian. In one survey, for example, the teacher showed pictures to the gypsy children.

The pictures illustrated heads, hands, stoves, and cups. "Name them," said the teacher, and the children, allegedly of gypsy mother-tongue, knew the names of most of the objects only in Hungarian.

Gusztav Balazs: Perhaps they did not know what stove and cup mean in gypsy because there are no stoves and cups in hovels.

Dr Jozsef Vekerdi: I agree with you that very many concepts, such as, for example, glass or fork, are lacking in the language of settlement gypsies because those objects are also lacking in their lives. This life is so unbelievably deprived that children going to school know only 1200 words, whereas they should know at least 3000.

Mrs Otto Kovacs: For this reason, too, kindergartens are enormously important. Because through kindergartens the disadvantages of gypsy children can be reduced. In Fertorakos, for example, the female director of the nursery school visited the gypsy parents in turn, and persuaded them to place their children in the nursery school. Today, already half the children in this nursery school are gypsies. They deal with them systematically, and the result is that as a result of good nursery school and kindergarten preparation, gypsy children are just as good students in school as non-gypsies. Where the gypsies live under very bad conditions, and the children have not gone to kindergarten, either, there perhaps the starting of a special class for them is also justified. But as the children make up most of the disadvantage, they must be put into a mixed class. Of course, great care is needed, because unfortunately it often happens that children doing well in a gypsy class have failed in a mixed class.

Dr Lajos Papp: I, too, regard it as very important that the child get the opportunity to overcome the disadvantage already in kindergarten. In Foto, where the children have an identical start, their mental abilities are also identical. Other examples demonstrate that at school age it is already very difficult to make up for disadvantages. In this area there is an enormous amount of work to be done. Gypsy parents must also change their attitude. When, however, the child has successfully completed primary school, then the secondary school teacher, the local council leadership, and the KISZ must also do much more than at present in order that our efforts be truly successful. But in any case, kindergarten is the foundation, in order that every child may start school with approximately identical or similar chances.

NEPSZAVA: Yet it is forbidden to enroll a child in kindergarten whose mother does not have a steady job. Gypsy women, however, work at home, raise several children, or if they go to work, even then they generally do not "have a steady job." As a result, the most needy children may not get into kindergarten.

Dr Lajos Papp: According to the general regulations, it is indeed only the children of mothers who have worked regularly for a considerable period

of time who may be admitted to nursery-school. But we are also creating the legal possibility for having the children of parents with large families, for example, admitted to nursery-school or to preschool. The trouble is that the parents many times do not let their children go to either one, although the gates stand open.

NEPSZAVA: And this fact stirs up prejudices. Unfortunately, those who are in an uproar are many times speaking the truth. They complain of the fact that the local council has tried to help in so many different ways, but in vain. They gave clothers to half-naked children in vain, for the next day they again showed up in rags, because the parent had sold the children's clothes, had drunk up the money, etc. The observations are very many times correct, only they do not take into consideration the fact—I think—that such behavior is rooted in centuries-old habits of the gypsies. In the view of the gypsy expert, to what extent will they succeed in freeing themselves from their centuries-long backwardness, as well as from the prison of their habits?

Dr Jozsef Vekerdi: For two and a half millenia the gypsies were a folk group following a nomadic, gathering way of life. Although many of them practiced a few trades—playing music, blacksmithing, basket-weaving, wash-tub hollowing, bellcasting—even artisan gypsies did not make a living from their trades. According to interwar data, for example, what a bell-casting gypsy earned by casting bells comprised only 1/10th of his monthly income. In the 1960's the state attempted to strengthen traditional gypsy crafts, but this experiment turned out to be a dead-end. It was as if, in the name of protecting tradition, we were to demand that on state farms they should drive tractors with shepherd's flutes. Within modern production relations it is an impossibility to maintain the ancient crafts. But I say that in any case it was not artisan work that was characteristic of the gypsies, but nomadic gathering. With us, the last nomadic group, the Vlach gypsies, settled down only at the end of the 1930's. From this gathering way of life a wholly unmodern frame of mind and way of thinking developed. The first generation of working gypsies is still influenced by an unmodern way of thinking acquired in hovels. We cannot expect that a man who has grown up in a hovel, without wearing shoes, without knowing how to tell time, without any regularity, should feel 8-hour, precise work as an obligation. As a matter of fact, those who condemn the gypsy who does not wash, is slovenly, does not work, and does not have his child instructed are right—but this attitude of condemnation is still unjust, for one must not forget a two-thousand year old past of negative value. We must be patient, we must be understanding: at least 2-3 generations are necessary for the disadvantaged groups of gypsies to make up for their backwardness.

NEPSZAVA: And this 2-3 generations' time demands not only patience, but also effort. Among other reasons, because indices of population increase are higher among gypsies than among the non-gypsy population. According to statistical estimates, in 1990 there will be approximately 400,000 gypsies living in Hungary, as opposed to the present 300,000. If we take this fact

into consideration, as well, what may we single out from the government decree as the most important, the most essential?

Dr Lajos Papp: First of all, I must say two things. First: the measures taken so far have not been even more effective because they did not adequately take into consideration the dynamics of the increase in population growth. But--and this is the other important point--the figure 400,000 is based on an estimate, and many dispute this estimate. It may, however, be anticipated that as a result of the urbanization of the gypsies, this increase will slow down. In plain English: more and more gypsy parents are considering how many children they can afford or have energy to educate and to bring up properly. More and more gypsy families are considering family planning. One can observe that among young gypsies who have acquired a trade and who live in modern homes, large families with 6-8 children are already rare. We hope that the present measures will promote their human and social advancement even more effectively than the previous ones. Our goal is to provide even more assistance. The solution is less and less a question of money. I see the essence of the government decree in this, that it focuses the attention of the central and local organs better than previously on the gypsy question. Since the job can only be accomplished by broad social collaboration, the government has made concern with the gypsy question the task of several people and organs. It is even more necessary to build on the cooperation of those of gypsy origin who are already assimilated. As a matter of fact, everyone can do something for our further advancement. An especially great responsibility falls on parents, teachers, and workplace leaders. The means and forms of support and assistance must be adapted to the stratification and natural endowments of the gypsy population and to local peculiarities in an adequately differentiated way. What is needed is that everywhere gypsy problems and the improvement of the situation of gypsy people be handled with the greatest possible experience, humanely, with a willingness to help. This is our common concern, our social task.

NEPSZAVA: We thank you for the conversation.

8971

CSO: 2500

REVISED MILITARY SERVICE LAW CHANGES DISCUSSED

Substitute Military Service

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 Aug 79 p 4

[Article by Col Franciszek Trawinski, General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces: "Universality of Military Service and Its Substitute Forms"]

[Text] A significant idea in the law of 28 June 1979, changing the law of 1967 on universal military service for Poland, is further universality in the performance by every young man of conscript age of his duty to defend the country, in the form of military service performed by conscripts with the highest general, professional and physical qualifications dictated by the requirements of this service, and by other conscripts in the form of alternate services justified by considerations of defense and extremely useful from the point of view of the socioeconomic development of the country. In this way real conditions are created for equality and universality in citizen performance of the constitutional and patriotic obligation which defense of the fatherland is.

In order to guarantee the indispensable conditions in the course of practical realization of this primary goal, and this under the complex situation dictated by the population drop, it was fitting to make necessary changes in the system of administering conscript resources. This primarily concerns deferments in basic military service for the purpose of acquiring knowledge and performing a trade in state enterprises, carrying out especially important productive tasks, currently assuming a temporary character based on an extension of the time to be called up for military service, but under the condition that the deferment granted does not free the conscript from performing basic military service or substitute forms of it. The new source of conscripts effectively employed in the military service makes it possible to call into service those who are the only support of their families. At the same time persons who must still be supported by a soldier are guaranteed a payment of allotments and other benefits from state funds during the period of service.

Universal Military Service

Universal military service is of particular importance for the army, the organization of which is primarily based on compulsory military service. A modern army, with its organization and its disposition of more and more modern and complicated military equipment, requires persons of suitable general and professional training. This is dictated by organizational

considerations in the area of training and guarantying efficient use of military equipment under the conditions of successive changes in the state of military personnel units, determined by the legal periods of performance of compulsory military service.

Amending the law and accentuating the principle of universality and equality of benefits in favor of national defense does not introduce any essential changes into the area of performance of military service. In particular, it does not extend its duration but, at the same time, by meeting the needs of citizens and the national economy and expressing the peaceful policy of our country, it increases the possibility of early release of definite groups of soldiers from basic military service while they remain at the disposition of the leaders of a military unit. Such a release, essentially constituting leave from military service, will simultaneously be a form of discrimination in favor of soldiers who have achieved good results in training and exhibited a high degree of discipline during their military service. During the period of early release, lasting until they are transferred to the reserves, these soldiers will remain at the disposition of the leaders of their military unit and are obliged to report for every call-up (resulting from definite needs) in their military unit. Any possible changes in the residence of this group of soldiers will depend on permission granted by the leader of their assigned unit.

Basic Military Training

A new manner of fulfilling basic military service has been introduced, based on extended execution of this service for a period ranging from 1 to 4 years on the basis of voluntary application. The initiation of this service is particularly connected with tangible benefits to be gained in association with a guarantee of continuity and effectiveness in using complicated military equipment. It is assumed that soldiers performing this service will exhibit competence close to the competence exhibited by non-commissioned officers providing career military service for a definite period of time.

New legal forms of service, performed for 2 years, are substitute conscript service and basic civil defense service to which conscripts, recognized as competent for military service (category A), can be assigned instead of basic military service. Since both forms of service are a symbol of an advantageous union between defense needs and national economic development, they also make it possible to meet the requirements of universality of service and thus comply with the principle of civil equality with respect to constitutional obligations.

Substitute conscript service, based on the principle of voluntary declaration, will be performed in selected institutions: social health, welfare, environmental protection and other public service institutions. However, in practice this will not mean that every conscript who volunteers will be selected for this service. In accord with the provisions of the law on performing substitute service, it is possible to select conscripts who do not enjoy a deferment from basic service and

who cannot perform military service for reasons independent of military organs (for example, because of inferior general and health considerations), if they have been assigned by the military conscription commandant to perform this service upon their request.

Conscripts will perform their substitute service in their place of residence or in a nearby community, similar to a workman doing his job in his factory. Only in special circumstances can a conscript performing substitute service be billeted someplace, and this will be based on collective (boarding) quarters.

Conscripts performing substitute service will not remain in contact with their pre-conscription place of employ, and their service obligation will be determined from the regulation on universal military service. During their service they are obliged to comply with orders from superiors associated with the performance of this service. At the same time the pertinent measures in the regulation of the Labor Codex, referring to the obligations of workers, material responsibility, working hours, and labor safety and hygiene, will apply to these people.

The rights of conscripts performing substitute service in the area of wages, free food, allowances for clothing, leave and so on are approximately the rights and costs of maintaining troops in the basic military service of units in the National Territorial Defense [OTK].

Basic Civil Defense Service

A second form of substitute service for the military service obligation is a 2-year obligation in basic civil defense service, performed in specially organized units of OC [Civil Defense]. In matters referring to the organizational structure and activity of these civil defense units, use will be made of the rich experience gained during the operation of permanent volunteer work detachments of the FSZMP, including the experience of self-defense units currently active within it, and in which conscript training is carried out. In particular these will be units preparing conscripts to perform tasks in the area of civil defense, denoted as humanitarian by international conventions: techniques of lifesaving, repair work, structural engineering work, fire-fighting and protection of the populace against natural calamities and overcoming the results of the latter.

Worthy of emphasis is the fact that service in these units, the primary function of which is specialized training in the area of civil defense, will be associated with training in the practical performance of suitable, economically justified, tasks of social usefulness. In this way a contribution will also be made in expanding the circle of youth embraced by the process of vocational training.

Basic civil defense service, in contradistinction to substitute conscript service, will be based on officially sending a conscript to the place of performance. As a rule this service will be performed in a billeted way in one uninterrupted period of time. It can also be performed in several

periods during 3 years, in which case the duration of this service cannot exceed a total of 18 months.

The rights of conscripts performing basic civil defense service, just as for conscripts performing substitute service, will be set at the level of rights of soldiers in OTK units.

A modern army, based on universal military service and having more and more complicated technology at its disposal, requires people of suitable general and vocational education, including higher education.

Students and Graduates

This requirement provides special standing in military service to students and graduates of higher schools, based on standards confirmed in advance, that is, military training during studies and military refresher training in military units after finishing studies. The need to apply the principle of equality in fulfilling the obligation of military service has made it necessary to apply the principle of universal military service performance to students and graduates of higher schools, including all men designated in the opinion of a medical board as "capable of military service", category A, including those whose higher studies were finished abroad. With respect to the definite needs of the armed forces, the best graduates from any point of view will be trained during their military refresher training to become reserve officers, while the rest will be trained to perform functions in positions of warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and others.

During military refresher training, conditions will be provided for maximum utilization and exploitation of vocational qualifications possessed by graduates of higher schools, along with training in the skill of organized activity and direction of groups of human beings. As experience gained in recent years demonstrates, this does not play any insignificant role in the activity of enriching forms of practical training for future cadres for our political, social and economic life. The obligation of universal military training also means the elimination of the current feeling of essential "inequality" among graduates of higher schools getting refresher training in military units in the performance of their obligation. Up to now this has included only part of the academic youth.

In addition to defense conditioning, all of the forms of meeting the service obligation mentioned above will undoubtedly have a favorable effect on youth. Here the educational role of military service should be given particular emphasis.

Link in Civil Education

The fact is that the Polish People's Army is an important link in civil education. A couple of years of vocational cadre activity, active participation in social and youth organizations, and life in soldier collectives will leave positive and lasting traces in the consciousness and mind of youth. Similarly military service has no small role in the

activity of preparing youth for vocational work. Every year various branches of the national economy are strengthened by hundreds of thousands of men trained in the army, automobile drivers and mechanics, tractor operators and tractor mechanics, specialists in construction, communication and electricity, and many other kinds of experts.

Universal military training, assured as a result of the introduction of substitute service, also makes it possible to reach those young people who were often left outside the scope of any organized educational activity after finishing or interrupting their studies. Not without importance from the point of view of social interests is the emergence of a possibility of including the group of young people, designated by the terms non-studying and non-working, into the framework of universal military training by direct activity. This activity will undoubtedly result in resocializing this group of youth and bringing them back into the current of social and vocational life.

Role of Civil Defense

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Aug 79 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Suwart, Civil Defense Inspectorate: "The Role of Civil Defense"]

[Text] In the objective international situation taking shape, the socialist countries including Poland are combining their active, peaceful, foreign policy with a strengthening of their security. The SALT II agreement signed in the middle of June does favor restriction of the arms race, but the forces opposed to detente are not giving up their policy of tension and provocation. Therefore, without minimizing the existing realities of military threat, we must strengthen our defense posture while fighting for universal peace.

Although it borders only on socialist countries, our country is within the range of strategic and operational capabilities of NATO atomic and rocket weapons and air force, and even a transfer of hostile air landing operations to its territory. Thus potential menace has been expanded to cover the entire country, everyone and everything. There is also the fact that the lack of security involved with modern weapon arsenals is enormous, actually global. The greater and more tragic the risk, the more necessary it is to anticipate ways and means of preventing it or limiting its results.

Under these circumstances and in proportion to the nature of the potential threat to Poland, the need to guarantee the peaceful development and further building of socialism, and of our economic and social capabilities, defensive preparations are still being continued in all fields of strengthening Polish security. One of the fields of such preparation is civil defense, constituting an important and extremely universal component of the Polish defense system, in addition to the Polish People's Army.

Today's civil defense, based until recently on law 111/73 of 18 May 1973, has more than 50 years of development behind it. This development has been shaped by many events, beginning with the acts of helplessness occasioned by the disastrous policy of the Polish ownership classes, but also to no slight degree by the heroism and patriotism of the people during the war and occupation, and also during the period of consolidation of the people's authority.

Great Experience

Its history contains a great supply of experience used creatively today under current conditions. Obviously the postwar form and tasks of civil defense were affected by a penetrating analysis of the existing imperialistic threat, as well as by the concern of the party and people's authority for the safety of the people and property in a time of military catastrophe, the threat of which has existed under various degrees of intensification in past years and still exists.

For this reason civil defense constitutes an inevitable result of the needs which have arisen under the effect of the increased scope and extent of threat to the people and to all material goods during wartime activities. Initially this threat caused definite difficulties, while today, under the conditions of the existence of weapons of mass destruction, no one questions any longer the opinion that life, the operation of the country and the conduct of war would be impossible without civil defense. Nor is there any lack of opinions which go further, such as the one that in case of a nuclear war civil defense would be the condition for the survival of the populace and society. Therefore there can be few countries in the world at present in which civil defense has not been initiated.

However, the existence of civil defense is not only determined by needs springing from the threat of war. Even peacetime is not free of various perils threatening the greater and greater concentrations of humans coming into existence as a result of the progress of urbanization, free of the side-effects of our civilization or free of the activity of natural elements. These can be effectively opposed only by permanent improvement in the organization of collective effort and within the framework, as universally as possible, of programs of preventive and rescue activities. These conditions are being met better and better by civil defense, assigning the majority of its tasks to this type of need.

In Poland the agency and forces of OC [Civil Defense] have participated uninterruptedly for a long time in removing the results of catastrophes, damage and natural calamities. In its time TOPL [Local Anti-Aircraft Defense] has participated in 600 missions of this type.

Useful Nature of OC Activities

The useful nature of OC activities is also revealed in defense training. Thanks to the association of some OC training exercises with environmental work, large surpluses are allotted to outlays for this training. This

tradition also includes social activity. It is anticipated that this year even better effects will be brought about by the activity of the members of the 35-year old Polish OC.

Thus Polish civil defense is a resultant of the needs of our times. On its basis and in conformity with the nature of socialist defense, reciprocal problems are emerging of protecting people primarily against any kind of threat and the usefulness of these missions in peacetime. This enhances the usefulness of the entire defense system of our country in peacetime. This also produces conditions to fulfill the right of every citizen for defense of his life in the case of enemy aggression. The possibility of achieving its goal and missions has strong support in the results of building socialism, in the moral and political unity of society, in the Polish People's Army and in the indissoluble union between Poland and the USSR and other countries of the Warsaw Pact agreement.

Civil Defense Purpose and Tasks

During the course of the last 6 years the basic assumption of civil defense, contained in the law of May 1973, has been confirmed. In practical application in the course of exercises and the elimination of the consequences of natural disasters, and at the same time as the result of systematically conducted studies and current experience, new needs have arisen and better organizational solutions than in the past have emerged. Civil service authority has also been enhanced during this period. Therefore it has become necessary to modify civil defense. This has been properly reflected in the amended law on Polish universal military service, enacted by the Sejm on 28 June 1979. At the same time this important document created new possibilities for further OC improvement. A separate part of the law, Section 6, was dedicated to civil defense, with 4 subsections defining: purpose and organization of civil defense, OC service, defense training for youth, and universal self-defense for the populace. We read in Article 118 of the law: "Civil defense has the purpose of defending the populace, factories and equipment of public utility, cultural goods, rescuing and providing aid for victims in time of war and cooperation in overcoming natural disasters and eliminating their consequences." It should be recognized that this concept reflects almost all of the most essential tasks of OC: the defensive nature of this field of defense, putting the humanitarian goal of defense of the populace first, the basic tasks and the usefulness of OC in peacetime.

Civil defense is to fulfill this purpose by realizing such basic tasks as: defense of the populace (most important mission), defense of the national economy against means of destruction, pollution and contagion, defense of cultural articles, rescuing and providing aid for the victims.

OC organs, OC formations and OC systems, particularly for warning and alarming the people, for detecting and analyzing pollution, and for directing civil defense have been formed to carry out these missions. Universality and comprehensiveness in its tasks are the essential assumptions of civil defense.

The first assumption is the result of the total nature of a potential threat, in the face of which all of us are equal. Facing it we must all, within the framework of a division of defense tasks embraced in the legal civil defense system, participate in its activities in order to protect ourselves in advance against a threat, even if only in agreement with the very instinct for life. Against this background, and thus on the basis of civil defense, patriotic tasks for the entire country, region, and environment must be meshed into a single whole, with the single purpose of protecting our lives and existence during any great danger.

Another essential feature in fulfilling the mission of civil defense is its comprehensiveness. This is because modern times do not present man with a single danger, but often with several at one time. After all, it is not difficult to anticipate that this may well be the rule in the case of a possible war conducted with the use of the newest military techniques and technology. Counting on such circumstances, we practice meeting several OC tasks at once, and not a single one, even though it might be the most effective. However, it is not merely the means and skill of effective mastery of them which are comprehensive, but the very activities of civil defense in its essence. It is naturally understandable that the effects of the activity of weapons of mass destruction can only be counteracted by collective effort functioning in an efficient way. During the battle with the attack of winter this year we also had a chance to convince ourselves that this requirement is also of basic, and sometimes of fundamental, importance in eliminating the results of natural disasters.

OC Organization

The area and scope of OC activity is so great that it would be impossible to create organizational structures exclusively for civil defense, since they would require the creation of nearly as many organizations as are functioning in the entire country. It would also be a mistake because it would stimulate the removal of civil defense from all of its base, source, purpose and all tasks. Therefore civil defense organization has been based on the existing administrative structure of the country.

Therefore it can be stated without exaggeration that the OC organization is identical with the general organization of the administration. Among other things, this principle is the result of the universality of the OC duty, but is also the result of the need for a connection between preparations and realization of civil defense tasks and other tasks within the competence of the administrative organs of the country.

The organization of civil defense guarantees its integration with other links in the defense system, primarily with our armed forces. This association is not only confirmed by the doctrinal assumption of our defense system, but also by such facts as the competence of the Ministry of National Defense in OC matters. The Minister of National Defense, as the deputy chairman of the National Defense Committee (KOK), exercises general leadership in matters of OC service and general supervision over the realization of OC tasks. In addition, as the Minister of ON [National Defense] he determines the limits for soldiers in OC service, and

administers reserves for OC service. The Chief of National Civil Defense is subject to the Minister of National Defense. Legal determination of the compliance of OC organs with the requirements stemming from the needs of the armed forces, and vice versa, also demonstrates this connection.

The law also defined the functions of the Chief of National Civil Defense [OCK]. The Chief of the OCK, as the central organ of state administration, prepares plans for the assumptions and principles of civil defense activity, determines the general principles for achieving OC tasks, coordinates definite enterprises and exercises control over the achievement of these tasks by means of the leading and local organs of state administration. He exercises general leadership over civil defense formations, especially over formations in which citizens perform fundamental service or conscript training. One of the essential powers of the OCK chief, established in the new law, is the right to issue orders. The OCK Chief carries out the tasks levied on him with the aid of the National Civil Defense Inspectorate, and cooperates with the leading, central and local organs of state administration, cooperative associations and social organizations.

On the other hand, in the country the functions of OC chiefs have been joined to the function of organs of local state administration, which gives evidence of the territorial principle of civil defense leadership. Thus civil defense activity in voivodships, towns, city sections and gminas is directed by governors (mayors of cities of voivodship status), and mayors (managers) of cities and managers of city districts and gminas (cities and gminas) as OC chiefs. They plan for the accomplishment of OC tasks, direct the training process, and use the forces and means of OC to overcome natural disasters. At times of direct threat of danger and war, they direct the OC formations, distribution and procedures of rescue activity, and exercise other activities in conformity with the principles defined by higher levels of OC leadership. It should also be added that they coordinate the accomplishment of OC tasks by national units which are not subordinate but which find themselves in the area of action. In addition the voivodship OC chiefs supervise the course of basic OC service in formations created on voivodship territory.

The OC chiefs of voivodships, cities and city sections carry out their missions with the aid of voivodship, urban and city section inspectorates of civil service. On the other hand, OC chiefs of gminas (cities and gminas) do so with the aid of executive workers in gmina (city and gmina) offices and OC detachment commandants.

In conformity with the principle of universality of civil defense, responsibility for preparing and carrying out OC tasks is also shared by leading organs of state administration (ministries and equivalent organs), central administrations of cooperative associations and leading organs of social organizations. They carry out these tasks within the scope of joint problems resulting from particular authority (for example, within the scope of interministry coordination levied on them), and in accord with the profile of their activity (for example, the Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection in matters of defense construction for the populace).

In addition civil defense formations have been formed to carry out OC tasks, in particular to perform rescue operations and to provide aid to victims, and also for cooperation (on the basis of a governor's decision) in the activity of overcoming natural disasters and eliminating their consequences. They constitute something new in the present law, because they have replaced the previous self-defense formations (ZOS [Plant Civil Defense Units], LOS [Local Civil Defense Units], SOS [Specialized Civil Defense Units] and self-defense groups) existing practically since 1962-1964, as well as rescue units anticipated for militarization, created by the authority of the previous law (of 1967) on universal military service.

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CSO: 2600

RESEARCH IN 122-, 152-HOWITZER MOBILITY DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Sep 79 p 3

[Text] Artillery maneuvering capabilities include, among other things, its road and cross-country travelling speed. Trucks and high-speed tracked artillery tractors are used for towing artillery equipment. Average travelling speed, particularly for heavy guns, does not exceed 40 kilometers per hour. One could increase this speed provided that the gun carriage were first modernized.

Recently, researchers of the Military Institute of Armor and Vehicle Technology took up this issue. They are developing a model, prototype solution for a 122-, and 152-millimeter howitzer gun carriage design. To date, these guns have not been outfitted with a brake system or lights. They also have tires which, when rolling at high speeds, overheat and undergo accelerated wear.

Specialists from the Vehicle Development Department (Zaklad Rozwoju Pojazdow), headed by Prof Dr Eng Zbigniew Burdzinski, have developed a new, improved howitzer carriage which incorporates wheels and tires from the Star-266 truck, air brakes from trailers being used by the military as well as standard vehicle electrical systems.

"We expect that after modernization, the towing speed will increase to 60 kilometers per hour," says Dr Eng Leszek Orlowski. "Previously, this speed did not exceed 30 kilometers per hour on Class II roads and 40 kilometers per hour along Class I roads. Two sets of rear lights consisting of a brake light, directional and reflector, adapted, of course, for dimming, have been installed on the guns. Moreover, a reflector will be placed on the gun barrel cover."

The model, prototype solution which has been developed will undergo an evaluation by specialists, particularly artillerymen as well as go through the necessary experimental tests. This will allow for the selection of the optimal variant. If this solution is accepted, then shortly howitzers will be rolling along more quickly on roads and over roadless artillery range areas.

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PARTY POSITION ON CONFLICTS AMONG COMMUNIST PARTIES

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 3 May-Jun 79 pp 57-67

[Article by Ion Florea]

[Text] Theoretical and ideological activity represents an essential facet of each communist party's action, a need for scientifically substantiating its political line, its revolutionary program. For a party in power, theoretical activity constitutes the need for building the new system, for exercising and enhancing its leading role in society. It is known that the role of the conscious factor increases as progress is made in socialist construction, because the magnitude and rate of socialist advance largely depends on the extent to which political-ideological activity scientifically substantiates the programs of socioeconomic development and the measures taken, on the way in which working people act in the context of awareness toward meeting the objective social requirements.

Of course, the ideological activity of each revolutionary party primarily centers on domestic tasks such as shaping a scientific policy, revolutionary strategy and tactics which correspond to internal and international realities, to the specific conditions in each country, and to the stage in the national revolutionary process. The ensuring of victory in socialist construction, the continuous upgrading of socioeconomic leadership and firm advance toward the communist society can be scientifically substantiated only by sustained theoretical activity. Thorough study of internal and international sociopolitical realities and continuous development of theoretical revolutionary thinking, of social sciences are for each party primarily internal duties to their own peoples, thereby helping to scientifically substantiate political approaches and measures and, also, to enhance the socialist awareness of the masses.

The theoretical and ideological activity also is an internationalist duty because each communist party is required to be instrumental by its practical and theoretical activity in enhancing the

prestige and influence of socialism in the world and in creatively developing the revolutionary doctrine. "The independent processing of the Marxist theory," of all the national and international revolutionary material and experience by each party, in order to draw conclusions for its own activity, to develop the paths to follow in the activity of transforming society, is, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, a paramount task, "because this theory only provides guiding principles," [1] that are applied in a different way under the specific conditions in various countries and historical periods.

K. Marx and F. Engels pointed out that their theory was not a dogma but a guide to action, a method of scientific analysis of social phenomena, of the changes that occur on the internal and international scale and of development of revolutionary strategy and tactics, of the policy corresponding to specific historical situations. In his turn, Lenin stressed that any attempt at mechanically and uniformly interpreting Marxism "transforms it into a dead thing", deprives it of "its living soul," undermines "its fundamental theoretical foundations -- dialectics, the theory of multilateral and contradiction-filled historical development," severs its "bond with the specific practical issues of the epoch, which may change at each new turn of history." [2]

Specifically in our days, when there has been a rise in the diversity of socioeconomic and political conditions from one country to another and when the working-class and revolutionary movement has grown at an unprecedented rate, the activity of each party must be based on the profound study of internal and international realities, of the specific features of each people and of the current historical stage, on the creative application of the overall principles of the revolutionary theory to the specific conditions in each country. Only in this way each detachment of communists can truly become the exponent of the working class from which it has emerged, of the vital national interests and aspirations.

It is in this spirit that the Romanian Communist Party has always acted, shaping its policy, the specific measures, including those in the area of ideological and educational activity, proceeding from devotion to the overall tenets of scientific socialism and from the need for creatively applying them to the specific conditions of our era, from the specific realities of our country, from the overall interests of socialism and of our people. Responding to objective needs regarding the development of the socialist society and the molding of the new individual, our party pays great attention to ideological and theoretical activity, to the continuously higher political training of communists, of all working people. The Ninth Party Congress held in 1965 produced a broad

development and renewal of sociopolitical thinking, elimination of former dogmatic distortions and resulted in the establishment of a climate of free development, based on commitment to principles and scientific objectivity, on creative emulation of authentic values. This period of a decade and a half goes down in the history of socialist Romania not only as the most dynamic period in socioeconomic development and in upgrading of political leadership, but also as the richest and most fertile period in terms of ideological and theoretical activity, in creative and bold approaches to various theoretical and practical issues.

An expression of this concern involves the formulation and endorsement of an ideological program with broad historical prospects, in 1971. The basic goals of this program involved overall upgrading of ideological activity, socialist education of the masses, and placing of the relations in our society on the foundation of the principles of socialist and communist ethics and equity. The constitutive elements of this ideological program have become components of the Romanian Communist Party Program for building a multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism adopted by the 11th Congress. The formulation of the party Program, which capsules the entire creative theoretical thought accumulated by our party, was possible because of the great victories obtained by our people in building socialism and because of the vigorous development of the party, of its theoretical and practical maturing, which is also reflected in the higher ideological level of communists, and because of the party's greater historical role in the overall leadership of the Romanian society. The party Program concentrates the party theoretical and political thought, its strategical outlook on the courses of action for building a multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism, the evolution of the party and state, the avenues to development of socialist democracy, the molding of the new man, and on the principles of international relations, on strengthened unity of the present-day communist and working-class movement.

Imbued with creative, innovative approach to all the theoretical and practical problems of socialist construction and of present-day international life, the party Program, the other documents of our party, and its entire policy constitute the expression of creative scientific socialism in Romania.

The party Program has become the basic ideological theoretical and political charter of all our people, providing a clear revolutionary perspective to the activity of socialist transformation of Romanian society and of ensuring its progress toward the peaks of communism. Pointing out the conceptional significance of the Program, Nicolae Ceausescu also drew attention to the fact that

the Program does only and can only provide the overall scientific orientation, and its theses and provisions are not dogmas provided once and for all. Because of this account must be constantly taken of the revolutionary changes which take place in Romanian society and in international life and adequate conclusions must be drawn for the activity in each stage, for the enrichment of revolutionary theoretical activity. [3]

In very briefly recalling these concerns we must point out that in revolutionizing our party's procedure of thought and action along the course of creative revolutionary theory a decisive role was played by party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, whose theoretical work and tireless political activity at the head of the party and state are pervaded with a high spirit of responsibility for innovative, dialectical comprehension and resolution of the major problems of socialist construction, of international life, for the creative development of the revolutionary theory and the continuous rise in the prestige and influence of socialism in the present-day world.

The vigorous assertion of the ideas of scientific socialism in the discussion of ideas is a major facet of present-day ideological activity. This socialism has now become a center of reference in all areas of social sciences to such an extent that its indisputable value and influence are acknowledged even by its ideological opponents. This considerable influence of scientific socialism is a fact, one of its opponents stated; "it is a matter of ascertaining it," of simply stating because "it is present and operates everywhere," not knowing "any other limit than that of the planet itself." [4] Such acknowledgements, even from anticommunist thinkers, are not fortuitous, but actually reflect the vigor and magnitude in the assertion of the ideology of scientific socialism. Of course, we must not overlook the fact that, in the case of anti-communist thinkers, acknowledgements on the value and influence of scientific socialism which assert themselves by the strength of facts are accompanied by distorted interpretations and falsifications in rejecting its scientific and revolutionary essence.

The theory of scientific socialism has now won the minds of the broadest masses and has truly become the ideological conscience of our era. This theory emerged as the ideology of the working class and it has constantly broadened its mass basis, now underlying political goals of many peoples, of exploited and oppressed classes and sections everywhere, providing a clear and inspiring prospect for the development of society, for the attainment of the masses' aspirations for progress.

However, as the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party indicated, we are nowadays witnessing "a keen ideological confrontation between the revolutionary and progressive forces, on

the one hand, and on the other hand, the exploiting classes and reactionary circles, in regard to a number of basic problems of social development, of organization of society, rights and freedoms of masses, the human status, philosophical thinking and spiritual creation," [5] the future of mankind, and the approach to international relations. This confrontation operates as a law of class struggle in the area of ideas which accompany revolutionary changes in the basis and in the superstructure of human society.

The history of scientific socialism demonstrates that our revolutionary theory has developed in confrontation with opposite concepts, with opposite ideologies. Today, when in the capitalist world all kinds of interpretations are invented, "old theories which at one point were defeated and compromised are again brought to the fore, in a modified way, with the purpose of creating confusion among the various social sections, of concealing the evils of the bourgeois system and disorient those who seek a new path in the evolution of society." [6] ideological confrontation becomes keener and keener. But our revolutionary ideology cannot develop by becoming isolated from the confrontations which occur internationally, but, contrarywise, in confrontation with the other ideological trends, by promoting domestic research and courageously tackling the problems which our era poses to human thinking.

The essence and explanation of these new phenomena is distorted in every way possible by the various interpretations formulated from reactionary stands. Therefore, commitment to class principles and ideological firmness, combined with concern for truth and objectivity remain an imperative of the development of our revolutionary theory. Proceeding from this imperative, the Romanian Communist Party takes firm action against all that might engender the phenomenon of spiritual pollution, preventing the spread of retrograde and reactionary concepts, for educating our people, and specifically the youth, in the spirit of the advanced ideas of revolutionary humanism, of amity and cooperation among people and nations, the cause of socialism and peace.

In developing theoretical and ideological activity, the communist party proceeds from the fact that imperialism and active reactionary and anticommunist forces still exist in the world. The revival of organizations that spread fascist, Hitlerite theories, which spell grave danger to democracy and social progress and against which we are required to take the firmest stand, of political and ideological exposure, is noticeable nowadays. Lately, there has been an activization of anticommunist ideology in the most gross and overt form even in areas such as philosophy.

For instance, to use only one example, the so-called "new philosophy" has emerged in recent years. By abandoning any philosophical standards proper, it besmirches scientific socialism in the name of metaphysics of strength, in face of which man, the working masses allegedly are powerless. One of the anticommunist procedures, used to the point of obsession by these "new philosophers," is exploiting mistakes from the history of socialism and identifying the new system with these phenomena, totally closing their eyes to the great accomplishments of the socialist society, to the fact that socialist society opened up the path of liberation of working people from exploitation and social and national oppression, the path of implementing the principles of equity and justice in relations among people. From this stand, B. H. Levy, the mentor of this concept, no longer makes any distinction between socialism and capitalism, between the power of the working class and the regime of fascist dictatorship, between scientific socialism and the most reactionary bourgeois ideologies, placing them on the same level and attributing them identical characteristics. Moreover, the representatives of this concept counterpose socialism to democracy, freedom, and equality and present the new system as an oppressor of human rights and freedoms. By no means can we be tolerant to these products of anticommunism, that try to sow distrust among masses against any attempt at changing the political course in capitalist countries, thereby defending the political and class status quo, and we must manifest implacable firmness and ideological and political militancy against them.

However, the range of present-day ideological confrontations is far more complex and broader. Present-day anticommunist thought, however, is not limited to reactionary concepts, which defend imperialism. The tumultuous era in which we live, which often was characterized as a crossroad stage in mankind's history, also is ideologically reflected in attempts at lucid analysis of the crisis of present-day capitalist society, of its increasingly antagonistic contradictions. Broad progressive, anti-imperialistic, democratic forces are active in the world. Ideologically they are involved in the rationalist and humanist orientations, in the broader attempts at promoting the scientific spirit, imbued with objectivity, in deciphering the progress trends which loom in the evolution of society and asserting the need for democratic reforms and transformations, for a new policy of cooperation among states, based on equality among states, respect for the principles of national independence and sovereignty, and speak out for a new international economic order.

But the dialogue with the progressive concepts cannot be equated with uncritical attitude toward the limitations of these concepts. It does not mean our ignoring some idealistic involvements and influences of the bourgeois ideology and anticommunist prejudices sometimes shared by their proponents, in spite of their dominantly progressive spirit. In our party's outlook, the dialogue

which is imperative as a law of progress of theoretical thought and spiritual advancement involves principled criticism, active and firm assertion of the ideological stand, and development of materialistic and dialectical thought and research in this field.

The revolutionary theory, which emerged and developed in contact and confrontation with the other trends of ideas in the world, absorbing the most valuable products of human thought throughout history, has only to gain from this dialogue. The revolutionary theory did not claim and cannot claim today either that it holds the monopoly of all the social thought, of absolute truth. The revolutionary theory must be receptive to all that is new and progressive in the world, to the advances and truths of universal science and synthesize the fruits of all knowledge, in order to provide an answer to the problems which life and the long-range evolution of human society constantly pose. There are many problems of broad interest, some which are most vital to mankind, such as peace and safeguarding of mankind against a new war, establishment of a new world economic order, ensuring of the sources of energy and raw materials, and other issues, into whose resolution all present-day social and scientific thought must have an input and in whose context our revolutionary theory must be the most active one.

Placing in the foreground of ideological struggle in contemporary philosophy the human problems, in connection with the danger which threaten the status of man in present-day capitalism and with the trends of structuralist and technocratic antihumanism, and the one promoted by the "new philosophers," made relevant the dialogue between our humanism and other humanist concepts -- with lay or religious characteristics (personalism, neo-Thomism), those advanced by existentialist thinkers or "African humanism" in the outlook of political personalities of the African continent. The importance of progressive and democratic humanist concepts in the current confrontations of ideas involves the role played in denouncing the evil and threats against the individual in the present-day capitalist society, by a critical attitude manifested vis-a-vis capitalism and exposure of new contradictions and forms of alienation of man in this society, often connected with idealistic, religious philosophical concepts like in the case of some existentialist, personalist or other types of thinkers.

The works of some existentialist thinkers, though in a subjectivist, tragic, and pessimistic vision on man, contain some criticism at the process of dehumanization and depersonalization in the capitalist society. The representatives of the various forms of humanism, however, do not clearly see the road to the actual fulfillment of man, the fact that socialism is the sole present-day approach to capitalist "barbarity," which creates the objective conditions for man's liberation from all kinds of social and national exploitation and oppression, of actual dealienation of

man and multilateral fulfillment of his individuality in the area of work and creativity, of a free and happy life.

In the dialogue and debate of humanist concepts, our revolutionary outlook on man proves its superiority not only by a scientific explanation of man and the paths to his creative fulfillment but also by his practical fulfillment, as practical, revolutionary humanism, free from any kind of mystifications and illusions on the status of man which often affect other "humanist" concepts.

The revolutionary thought and the communist movement are in duty bound to support the progressive trends, politically and ideologically, to encourage the dialogue with this type of concepts, in this way making a common front against anticommunist, reactionary trends. Party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu repeatedly pointed out the need for a differential attitude toward progressive concepts, indicating that we should not place under the same label of anticommunism such democratic, contesting ideas and theories, which often are critical of the capitalist society with the apologetic, anti-Marxist theories.

In this context, we have in mind the much debated concepts of the representatives of the "Frankfurt School" in philosophy, who originally proceeded from the theory of scientific socialism. As a result of complex evolution, some of these philosophers no longer have anything in common with the revolutionary theory, attempting to combine Marx's theory with Freudism and reject socialism because allegedly it is bureaucratic, and to negate the revolutionary role of the working class in our days. Beyond these unscientific conclusions and undertakings, which must be taken into consideration when criticizing the concepts of the philosophers of the "Frankfurt School," we cannot overlook the attitudes toward the present-day capitalist society, specifically characteristic of Herbert Marcuse and Erich Fromm, their promoting a humanist vision, though it is a matter of abstract humanism, with individual accents, which skips the economic and political priorities of the actual humanization of society and technology, primarily the elimination of the capitalist private ownership and seizure of political power by the working class and its allies.

This type of humanism, no matter how strongly it would describe itself as "radical" (as Erich Fromm designates his concept) remains ineffective on the practical level and unilateral and abstract-speculative theoretically. However, the two thinkers of the "Frankfurt School" share, with the critical attitude toward capitalism, the socialist ideal and speak about the need for the disappearance of the ruling exploiting classes, for resolving the serious problems which deteriorate and jeopardize the status of man in the present-day capitalist society. Of course, focusing on these aspects cannot involve an uncritical stand on the limitations of these concepts, does not mean closing our eyes to idealistic, psychologist lapses of the two thinkers.

to the anticommunist prejudices often shared by the representatives of this concept, in spite of their predominantly anticapitalist, antifascist and progressive tone. In relation to other concepts, the dialogue between Marxism and these concepts does not exclude criticism, ideological struggle, but they form a unit.

The dialogue of Marxism with other theories is not an abstract principle, which would have global non-differentiated applicability. It has a concrete character, in light of the matters debated and of the approaches proposed by one or another theory, by one or another thinker, by the overall spirit of their concepts and their social function. The limits of the dialogue broaden or narrow depending on the social function of the theories involved in the dialogue and their input into the development of social thought.

The active involvement of our theoretical thinking in the international dialogue and the influence exerted by socialism in the contemporary world decisively depend on the promotion and development of domestic research on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism in the area of social sciences, on the courageous and creative tackling of the complex problems of the contemporary world.

Peaceful coexistence and the fight for the assertion of its principles in life by no means involve lessening of the ideological struggle, a reflection of the class contradictions between the working class and the imperialist bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, between developing countries and colonialist imperialism. A component of the policy of peaceful coexistence involves firm promotion of the method of negotiations and dialogue in resolving disputes, in proposing international security and peace. Ensuring of successful negotiations or meetings such as those on European security requires responsible approach to outstanding questions, while avoiding the transformation of these important events devoted to normalization of international relations into a forum for debating ideological, philosophical and ethical differences and antagonisms that exist between the socialist society and the capitalist society, between one or another state. The triggering of such ideological disputes in this kind of context not only does by no means help to resolve the problems on which peace and security of peoples depend, but would indisputably result in greater tension and would gravely affect international detente. The voice of reason and lucidity, of responsibility for the cause of peace and international security must prevail over political and ideological animosities and misunderstandings all the more so in the case of appearance of conflictual situations between socialist countries.

Dialogue is an internal requirement for the development of scientific socialism, for the strengthening of unity and cooperation

inside the international communist and working-class movement. Dialogue and joint discussion represent a requirement for clarifying the many problems posed today by socialist revolution and construction and the development and future of contemporary society. The diversity of the paths for transition to socialism in light of the specific national conditions and as a consequence of revolutionary strategies and tactics necessitates broad development of exchanges of views with all parties, for joint democratic debate on the many issues of the world today, in a spirit of mutual respect and trust, based on strict observance of the independence and autonomy of each party and of full equality among parties.

In our party's view, the discussion of the various issues of overall interest for the communist movement must proceed on the basis of mutual respect and consideration for the counterpart's opinions, starting from the duty and need for each party to provide its own input into the creative development and enrichment of the common treasure of revolutionary theory and practice. The diversity of political orientations, strategies and procedures adopted by communist parties, however, must not result in opposing some parties to other parties, in negating some experiences and methods verified in practice, but in strengthening unity and fraternal cooperation. Moreover, pronouncement against a particular pattern cannot justify the claim of absolutizing another pattern, which should be counterposed to the other pattern. In this context, appreciable is the concern of some parties for seeking, in conformance with the conditions in their countries, the avenues to rallying the advanced social forces in the fight for democratization of society, for creating conditions for the transition to socialism, in compliance with the conditions and realities in the country involved, with the interests and wishes of the great majority of the people, this being a proof of their growth and maturing. Assertion of independent policy by no means contravenes the solidarity of communist and workers' parties, the development of an increasingly broad and close cooperation among them.

Our party feels that among communists the procedure of labeling, accusation and condemnation of one or another party must be eliminated because it hampers and even prevents the development of revolutionary thought. The history of the communist and working-class movement reminds us of the very harmful effects of such procedures in the past in terms of development of the working-class movement and socialism, which, if renewed, can only result in greater tension and differences.

The diversity of conditions and the multitude of strategies and forms of revolutionary fight and socialist construction, the

differences as to the levels of economic growth, the historical traditions and other factors may sometimes produce different standpoints and distinct modalities of approaching and resolving the problems of socialist revolution and construction, of revolutionary struggle, the assertion of different views on these problems. The emergence of such differences of views on a theoretical or practical matter therefore must be regarded as a normal thing, as a reality involved in the dialectical development of society and social thought. Moreover, Marx stated that "because the various detachments of the working class in each country and the working class in various countries develop under very different conditions, it is unavoidable that also their theoretical concepts, which reflect the actual movement, differ." [7] This idea is all the more valid today when we witness an even greater diversification of the conditions of struggle and action of revolutionary parties.

Hence, it is contrary to the spirit of scientific socialism and standards of relations among the communist parties to see in the expression of different views, in different interpretation and even in controversies of opinions in the communist and working-class movement enemy tendencies from one or another side, which we should label as anticommunist. This can only harm the influence of socialism and communism, the progress of revolutionary thought and generate misunderstandings resulting in the strengthening of reaction and the weakening of the struggle against real anticommunism, against imperialism. Therefore we must make a clear delineation between ideological struggle, as the reflection in the area of ideas of the class struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the progressive forces and the reactionary forces, between socialism and capitalism, and the debates of opinions which develop among communists, among those who share the same revolutionary ideal and the same outlook on the world. In this connection, in 1919, Lenin cautioned that the differences of opinions between proponents of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat "are different" from the differences between these proponents and their class opponents; "they appear on a common fundamental basis." [8] In our party's view, what unites the vanguard parties of the working class is far more durable and important than what separates them. Lenin's statements are all the more truthful today, when the diversity of the conditions of revolutionary struggle and the complexity of the problems which we must resolve have increased.

The differences, when they appear, our party feels, must be resolved only by comradely negotiations and discussions from party to party, from leadership to leadership, based on full respect for standards and principles of relations among parties. The differences of views between various parties on one or another matter,

however, must not affect the good cooperative relations among parties and specifically among socialist countries. Furthermore, they must not result in criticizing or blaming the parties that express different views. It is only on the basis of equality and respect for the independence and autonomy of each party that genuine unity in the world communist and working-class movement can be achieved. Scientific socialism is opposed to uniformism of opinions, to bringing to unison the approaches, all the opinions, the revolutionary strategies and tactics, the paths and methods of socialist construction.

Of course, such rules of conduct, which primarily bring out what unites the communist and workers' parties and result in ironing out the existing differences and ultimately in eliminating them, our party in the first place imposes to itself, thereby helping to reinforce the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, of the communist and workers' parties. At the 10th Congress, our party adopted the resolution that, in developing our country's good relations with all socialist states and on party level with the communist and working-class movement everywhere, it shall not participate in any kind of public polemics, in blaming one or another socialist country, one or another communist party, but, conversely, shall do all in its power for the elimination of current differences and for the strengthening of the entire communist movement. The 11th Congress and the December 1977 National Conference of the party reasserted the correctness of this resolution. Without participating in public polemics, even when it had reservations as to one or another standpoint, our party discusses the problems which arise on a party-to-party and leadership-to-leadership basis.

Furthermore, our party is the advocate of broader exchange of opinions and experience between communists, between revolutionary theoreticians, considering it as a need for developing the revolutionary theory and enriching its own experience and thought.

Proceeding from the need for a broader international dialogue, our party also expands the cooperative relations with the socialist and social-democratic parties, considering that, presently, it is imperative to step up cooperation with these parties on the national level, for speeding up the progressive development of the countries involved, and on the international level in the fight for security and disarmament, democratization of international relations, elimination of underdevelopment, and building a new world economic order, overall progress and peace in the world.

The Romanian Communist Party also strengthens solidarity and cooperation with the national liberation movements, with the government parties in developing countries, with other democratic forces,

including religious ones, including this cooperation in the context of the unity of all anti-imperialist forces, of the forces which speak up for social progress, for national independence and sovereignty, for friendship among nations, for peace.

The dialogue and debates are also used as a profoundly democratic method in the entire ideological and cultural life in our country, which stimulates creative thinking and activity, the clarification of ideological and scientific problems. Of course, during the debates, some unilateral approaches or even erroneous ideas may appear. The open discussion of these ideas, of the possible errors, is only the normal method for correcting them, a procedure toward truth. Our party is against administrative methods of guiding ideological activity and cultural-artistic creativity, against stopping the dialogue promoting broad discussion of issues in this very sensitive area of creativity by cultural and artistic workers themselves.

The Romanian Communist Party fully highlighted, in the context of the overall expansion of creativity in the area of material and spiritual values during the last 15 years in our country, the profoundly progress stimulating virtues of the ideological, political and scientific dialogue in full agreement with the role which it assigns to dialogue on an international level as matchless tool of resolving conflicts and disputes, as an overall factor of progress in thinking and creativity nowadays. Hence, our party has given back to dialogue and confrontations of opinions in our country the function which these factors had in the outlook of scientific socialism, the function of motive force of the progress of theoretical and scientific thought.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 4, Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1961, p 178.
2. Ibidem, Vol 20, Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1963, p 88.
3. "Programul Partidului Comunist de Paurire a Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate si Inaintare a Romaniei Spre Comunism" [Romanian Communist Party Program for Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism], Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1975, pp 10-11.
4. Pierre Masset, "Le Marxisme Dans la Conscience Moderne" [Marxism in Modern Awareness], Paris, 1974, p 9.

5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Expunere la Sedinta Activului Central de Partid si de Stat. 3 August 1978" [Speech at the Session of the Party and State Central Active. 3 August 1978], Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1978, p 44.
6. Ibidem, p 45.
7. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," Vol 16, Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1963, p 373.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 39, Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1966, pp 216-217.

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VIEWS OF WESTERN EUROPE COMMUNIST PARTIES DISCUSSED

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[Article by Elena Muresan and Gheorghe Prodea]

[Text] The evolution of international life in this decade of modern history is profoundly marked by the current world crisis of capitalism, which operates in all socioeconomic areas, demonstrating, as stated in the Program endorsed by the 11th Congress of our party, that "the old internal and international relations created by the capitalist system no longer correspond to the new productive forces, the tremendous development of the technical-scientific revolution, and no longer can provide adequate solutions -- in the interest of the broad people's masses and of progress -- to the complex problems which agitate the modern world."

[1] The contradictions generated by the socioeconomic capitalist system and by the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy furthered by this system increasingly confront the totality of human society, highlighting the fact that the very needs of the overall social progress require the restructuring of the current relations developed on the basis of the capitalist system and their replacement by new relations, based on the principles of equality of states, justice, and equity.

Where the modern capitalist society is involved, the analysis notes, based on the specific features of the various countries, common traits, which permit the overall characterization of present-day capitalism. What are these characteristics? In the first place, the domination of monopolies is a defining trait of the economic structure in the developed capitalist countries, a fact which is evident both quantitatively and qualitatively. [2] This is reflected in many specific processes, which evidence the growing contradiction between the advanced productive forces, also as a result of the technical-scientific revolution, and the obsolete capitalist production relations, a relationship whose analysis is of outstanding principled-theoretical, political, and ideological importance for defining the current fighting strategy of the proletariat and of the other progressive social sections in economically developed capitalist countries.

For the understanding of this relation it is indispensable to briefly survey some characteristics of capitalist economic life which help to clarify the mechanism of exercise -- in the political area -- of the monopolistic-statal domination, namely: the very high degree of monopolization of production and marketing in the advanced capitalist countries (and in the overall capitalist world); consequently, the even greater concentration of profits; the very rapid modification of the ratio between the big monopolistic unions, the inequality in their distribution in the various countries -- specific expression of the law on the uneven economic and political development of capitalist countries under imperialism; several dozens of giant banks concentrate the great majority of bank and credit transactions in capitalist countries; the financial capital -- whose basis of formation broadens as the domination of monopolies strengthens in all sectors of activity (industrial, banking, commercial, unproductive services, and other sectors) -- becomes the major form of expansion of the monopolistic capital domination. Hence, by specific means, financial capital expands the relation of capital, respectively "the bourgeois exploitation over some social sections which at first sight have no connection with one or another form of monopolistic capital. The premise of this expansion lies in expanding credit." Financial capital and financial groups are under the financial oligarchy, representing a "narrow circle of the monopolistic bourgeoisie," comprised of the big owners of monopolistic capital in the industrial, commercial, banking and services sectors, the old aristocratic families that own landed and real estate, the higher group of managers, who own capital, personal assets, and hold administrative power. [3] The growing intervention of the state in the economy during the postwar period, the increasing domination of the monopolies, and the expanding domination of the financial oligarchy over all the economic and sociopolitical life in the tremendously developed capitalist countries generated a new and subtler form of bourgeois domination -- monopolistic-statal domination. This is reflected in a distinct, socioeconomic and political structure -- the personal financial-statal union, comprised of the financial oligarchy and the top leaders of the bourgeois state, which, in terms of composition, has a very heterogeneous nature. In regard to the mechanism of formation of this union, it involves the penetration of statesmen, government and parliament personalities and military leaders into the ranks of the financial oligarchy (they become major shareholders in various companies or hold leading positions in the boards of big monopolies) and respectively, the big monopolists, "the higher level" of managers who manage to penetrate into the government, parliaments, the local administration, and specialized state institutions. Consequently, the members of this financial-statal oligarchy no longer are simple "businessmen or 'managers,' statesmen or military leaders, but all rolled in one, regardless of the individual specific social status," being individual and social users and promoters of monopolistic-statal domination.

[4]

The formation of the financial-statal oligarchy is socially reflected in class relations, between those who rule and those who are ruled (the social organization, respectively the totality of the relations between the social classes and sections being based on the relations of production), pointing out the new directions and forms of manifestation of exploitation, of production and growth of profit. In the first place, it is a matter of a new relation between labor and capital, to the effect that production and appropriation of the surplus value occurs in all the activities involved in the unified monopolistic-statal system -- in enterprises belonging to the big monopolies, in the state monopolistic sector, and in the other capitalist undertakings. In the second place, the labor of small producers is increasingly becoming the source of the monopolistic-statal profit. In the third place, this domination involves, at the level of the world capitalist system, the existence of unfair relations between advanced capitalist countries and developing countries, on the ground of which a part of the value newly created in the last-mentioned countries becomes an extra source of profit for the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries, specifically for the financial-statal oligarchy. In the fourth place, a very complex framework develops for the redistribution of the national income in the developed capitalist countries -- implicitly of the surplus value as one of its components -- in favor of the bourgeoisie and specifically of its most powerful leaders.

In the fifth place, monopolistic-statal domination is also characterized by the system of foreign economic relations. West-European integration is a manifestation in this context. [5]

Another factor in this context includes the existence of transnational monopolies, whose essence involves the fact that they establish structures which integrate material and human resources outside or above their national affiliation, without taking into consideration the specific socioeconomic goals of the peoples in the countries in whose territories they expand their sphere of action and enhancing the cosmopolitan nature of capital.

The concentration of economic and political power in the developed capitalist countries, concretized in the existence and manifestation of monopolistic-statal domination by a small oligarchy, implicitly expands the sphere and number of those ruled, of those exploited economically and deprived of actual participation in decision-making processes. In this context we notice a wide range of forces on which monopolistic-statal domination operates. In this respect the working class places centrally. The expansion of capitalism and of the productive forces and the development of the modern technical-scientific revolution have resulted in the numerical increase in the working class, in its higher level

of skill and vocational expertise, of political awareness, also reflected in the higher degree of trade union and political organization.

The working class in Western Europe, that numbers about 105 million people [6], asserts itself as a social force which firmly promotes material and social progress, inspired in its totality -- despite some political-ideological or organizational differences -- by basic objectives that focus on building the most just system ever known in human history.

Moreover, an important social force in developed capitalist countries, on which monopolistic-statal domination also operates, involves the category of employees, of the "productive collective worker" -- who in these countries oscillates between three-fourths and nine-tenths. It includes clerks, intellectuals, a large part of technical and engineering personnel, scientific workers employed by monopolies, a large number of salary earners in the sphere of services, who are directly tied to production. By their position in relation to the means of production, by the fact that they are salary earners, that they sell their labor, that they do jobs that are closely tied to production and needed by production, being involved in the creation of value and surplus value, all these categories are constitutive parts of the "productive collective worker" [7], as under capitalism there equally is exploitation of manual and mental work. In this context, also noticeable is another group, similar to the working class in terms of working and living conditions, but with a different role in the production process: the office workers specifically involved in the "non-productive sphere," who do not participate in creating the value and surplus value.

In this connection, the French Communist Party states that, with the advance of science and technique, the activity of engineers, technicians, staffs, researchers and other such workers "is increasingly necessary to economic, social and cultural development. These workers cannot be assimilated with the working class. However, like it, they do not own production means and are employed. But their ties with production are varied and their jobs and positions are exceedingly diverse. Some of them, such as plant engineers and technicians, are producers of surplus value and belong to the working class. But the greatest part of employed intellectuals are not in this situation. By this they are not less affected by the domination of big capital and the crisis, as citizens, employees and intellectuals at the same time. Hence, objective bases exist for a close alliance of these sections and the working class." [8]

The existence in the developed capitalist countries of these situations which are changed in terms of social stratification in

comparison to the situation during the period several decades ago is also noted -- theoretically -- by non-Marxist ideologists. For instance, Jean Delmarle points out: the technical workers have discovered that they represent less the "right arm" of the leading categories than the "knowledgeable scientific executant of a group that possesses the decision-making capacity, a capacity which always, up to a certain point, relies on ownership of the means of production." To the extent that these workers consider themselves as employed, "with the same title as any worker, who endorse a rather democratic outlook on social organization, they constitute a fundamental revolutionary force." [9] The explanation of this fact lies in the very essence of capitalist socioeconomic organization which, though it permitted the resolution of some problems pertaining to material living conditions, however, increasingly generated conflicts whose objectives involve the "status of employee in the enterprise, the distribution of powers in society." As stated by the French sociologist, the modern capitalist society does not resolve the conflicts and inequalities between individuals and between social groups. The majority of individuals and of social groups do not participate in power; many do not have decent standards of living and the current structures of power do not assure the development of everyone up to one's potential and actually equal opportunities do not exist. "One may even say that our social organization, inspired by liberalism, conditions the individual and generates structures which perpetuate a mode of organization that keeps being of an aristocratic type, in terms of power belonging to a small number and the distribution of power remains dependent on a heredity of competences," in which the chief factor is the social sphere of affiliation, culture and education which this sphere permits." [10]

The mass of the ruled also includes small undertakers, both those in agriculture -- the proportion of independent farms and of farmers in the total work force is clearly declining -- and those in towns, with the difference that the petty bourgeoisie in towns numerically remains relatively at the same level. This is so because as a number of small firms disappear, as a result of competition and special conditions, with the same regularity the reverse process occurs, one of development of small firms [11], which provide to monopolies various raw materials and some parts, handle maintenance and repairs of equipment used by monopolies, and so forth.

The process of social stratification in developed capitalist countries, the new, complex forms of expression of the capital-labor relation provide bourgeois ideologists with the opportunity for developing -- against the backdrop of a tremendously developed economy, of high national incomes and, implicitly, of improvement in the general living conditions in those countries -- theories that

tend to conceal the social conflicts. Among them also are the technocratic theories, in their liberal or authoritarian variant, which, maintaining that the technical factor supersedes the political factor under modern capitalism, ignore that any penetration into the governmental sphere implicitly means political activity, the attempt at preserving the existing social order. Hence, when the technician becomes a "technocrat" he automatically also is a politician [12].

Basing his survey on the French experience, Alain Touraine noted, in this context, that in France technocracy presents itself as a meritocracy, relying on the traditions of the old state apparatus, on the importance which the great schools have preserved. It develops a sphere which takes shape as a dominant class, identifying social interest with the interest of the big economic and political organizations which orientate economic growth. No matter how vast these organizations may be, they nevertheless constitute centers of private interests, "which create new forms of inequality and privilege." [13] Depending on this status of the dominant class, Touraine states, the sphere of the ruled establishes itself by the level of dependence to the "mechanisms of controlled transformation" and "social and cultural integration." [14]

What stands out even at first sight is the absence of the working class from this sketch of French social structure, the main class which produces material assets, subjected to monopolistic-statal domination and which, in France, through the system of its trade union and political organization, conducts important class struggles, focusing on major objectives for all society. The survey of such assertions in the final analysis brings out the tendency to negate the fact that, even in the context of an economically advanced capitalist society, the notion of social class is still defined by "possession or nonpossession of means of production, the role which people play in production, the means of obtaining and the part which they hold from the riches obtained." [15] In reference to the significance of these views, the communist theoretician Jacques Duclos voices the idea that all the ideological and political efforts which are made to provide arguments for the legitimacy of technocracy result in the conclusion that the democratic institutions allegedly are obsolete. "These antidemocratic concepts foster the campaigns favoring personal power and tend to develop depolitization trends which suit the proponents of dictatorship.... Technical experts must not supersede the elected but must work under their leadership in the interest of the people." [16] Similarly, Jean Maynaud notes that the regrouping which takes place in the ruling class is only aimed "at 'colonizing' the profitable careers and at assuring power over people." [17]

The serious crisis with which the capitalist economy is now confronted has in recent years made topical, instead of the idea of economic growth and apologetic theories which emerged against this backdrop, realities and concepts which are pressing by their magnitude and gravity, reflected in chronic unemployment and inflation, stagflation, monetary instability, crisis of balances, crisis of development, crisis of the international relations generated by capitalism and the need for their restructuring, crisis of the capitalist civilization, and so on. Based on these realities, which have sensitized the political awareness of the broad masses of working people in advanced capitalist countries, the communist and workers' parties in those countries formulated -- in light of the specifically historical experience of the country involved -- strategies and tactics of political-ideological and economic struggle, corresponding to the new conditions, reflecting inputs into the development of scientific socialism in our days.

Hence, all these communist parties have as fundamental objectives the change of the economic, political and social system in the countries in which they conduct their activities, takeover of power in the hands of the working class and its allies, factors which rank them among the most advanced political forces in the countries involved. Of course, the political line which is worked out for attaining this major aim, the methods and means outlined for this purpose, may differ from one country to another, depending, among others, on the size, strength and influence of the party concerned, on its capacity for mobilizing the masses, the degree of militancy of the social components urged to cooperate, the status of relations between the various political groups and, primarily, between communists and socialists. These efforts and endeavors of communist parties to resolve the problems characteristic of their countries are materialized in strategies and tactics corresponding to the various specific situations whose exponents they are.

In this context, recent years have witnessed more and more vigorous assertions of the formula of "Eurocommunism," and expression of the fact -- as stated by Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party -- that the communist parties of Western Europe and in other parts of the world "wish to promote an independent policy, to act in the revolutionary struggle in conformance with the conditions in the country involved, with the interests and aspirations of the great majority of the people."

[18]

Consequently, when one speaks about Eurocommunism the aim is not to define a modality of advancing toward socialism with a universal value but the focus is only on some specific features of Western Europe which characterize the situation in some countries, such as France, Italy, Spain and other states that have an economy which is advanced from many points of view, a society with

complex and differentiated social stratifications and, at the same time, with a long democratic tradition, concretized in varied forms of representative democracy. Hence, the notion of Eurocommunism involves a road of advancement toward socialism, for which all these parties act in specific ways, a road meant to take into consideration the specific economic, political, social, and cultural characteristics, the relations between democracy and socialism, and the fact that -- on the basis of new internal and historical conditions -- it is not possible for the victory of socialism in those countries to repeat the experience which existed on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution or the experience that resulted after World War II. As pointed out in this connection by the secretary general of our party, "the fact that some parties speak up against a pattern in socialist construction -- and it is their right to do so -- cannot, however, justify the claim to develop another mandatory pattern for the others," because "socialist transformation can only occur in the context of taking into consideration realities and not cliches; no kind of designation can alter the revolutionary concept on the development of human society." [19]

Within the framework of the process of takeover of power, a major objective of communist parties in developed capitalist countries, an outstanding factor involves realization of broad alliances of social classes and sections, of political forces, of progressive parties and organizations, of groups and even individuals.

In this respect, the French Communist Party considers that "in the stage of state monopolistic capitalism, when big capital increases and expands exploitation, when its rule expands to include all nonmonopolistic sections, the leading role of the working class does not lessen but increases. The need for a broad and sound alliance of these sections with the working class asserts itself even more clearly. Hence, there is increasingly an evidence of immediate and future interests between the working class and the immense mass of working people." [20]

While dialogue and cooperation between communists and socialists underlie the unity of action of the working class and constitute its embryo [21], equally important is the involvement of other political forces and parties which continue to exert a significant influence on broad masses of the people -- among the peasantry, intelligentsia and middle sections, the huge masses of workers, manual and mental -- partly under the influence of the Christian-Democratic or other denominational parties, a great part of liberal parties, and so forth.

In regard to the new trends which occur in modern society, trends of increasingly vigorous assertion of progressive forces in political, national and international life, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "the requirements of progress and peace call for the

closer and closer rallying and solidarity of all progressive forces, of all those who speak up for respect for peoples' freedom, for building a world of peace and well-being." [22]

In this connection, in the Joint Statement endorsed by the French Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party in November 1975 it was pointed out that "in order to guarantee success in the fight against the main enemy of the working class and the people's masses -- monopolistic capitalism -- there is the need to achieve a free agreement between various social forces among which the united working class should know how to gain leadership ability. Besides the alliance between communists and socialists, which now is the basis of sound and durable cooperation, one can note that nowadays broad sections of the Catholic world acquire the growing awareness of the contradiction which opens between the reality of imperialism and capital, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the most profound aspirations of the broad masses. This fact creates growing prospects for a meeting between communists, the totality of the working-class movement and the Christian-inspired popular forces. They can and must play an important role in the creation of a new society." [23]

In the view of the French Communist Party, the achievement of the union of the people represents the superior step of the unity of the French left, of its quality. Moreover, this truth is valid not only in the case of France but also for all the peoples that are in this historical situation, and the Chilean experience, even with its denouement, confirmed it.

The idea of achieving the unity of the people proceeds from the premise that the unity required for the success of the Joint Program cannot be limited only to the organized political forces of the left, because the broadest people's masses are those which must take over the program and rally their forces for its implementation and act together. The French communists consequently feel that the unity of the left must not be counterposed or substituted to the unity of the people, but, in order to win and implement the program on which they agreed, the left parties must obtain the active and permanent support of the immense mass of manual and mental workers, in town and country, of all those who are subjected to the exploitation of capitalist monopolies, that is the vast majority of the French people. In this connection, the French communists maintain that the people's masses must fully participate in the battle which decides their future, that precisely due to this vast rallying -- which can exceed, in the current context, what was done in 1936 and in 1945 -- the extrication of the country from the domination of big capital can be achieved. They emphasize that for achievement of this rallying, the working class can be joined by the immense mass of farmers, technicians, engineers, members of the teaching staff, intellectuals, and artists.

The documents of the 23d Congress of the French Communist Party, held in Paris from 9-13 May 1979, reaffirms the idea according to which the rallying of all people's forces remains an irrevocable option, at the same time emphasizing that in the future absolute priority will be given to unity in action, achieved, at the basis, through the struggles of working people and the population. "The achievement, maintenance, and progress of rallying in the fights for democratic change cannot be completed without the existence and strengthening of the revolutionary party, that is of the French Communist Party"-- states the Report given by Georges Marchais. "The French Communist Party is a party of struggle. Everywhere the communists are together with the people's masses in order to organize action, to achieve what it can be, to make justice and freedom progress." [24]

United action of all political and social forces was also upheld on many occasions by the Italian Communist Party. In many of his speeches, Palmiro Togliatti placed special emphasis on the unified policy and convergences among all these people's forces. Subsequently, the Italian Communist Party provided a major input into expressing this position by formulating the thesis of the "historical compromise." In essence, this thesis deals at length with the place and role of Catholics, Christian Democrats, of other Italian democratic and popular political forces, not eluding, but, on the contrary, placing at the basis of the nucleus the communists and the socialists. In a capsulized form, the essence of the matter was stated by Enrico Berlinguer in the article "Social Alliances and Political Groups," which in addition to two other articles published in RINASCITA, theoretical organ of the Italian Communist party, underlay the development of the thesis of the "historical compromise," expressed as follows: "Evidently, the unity, the political and electoral strength of the left and the firmer and firmer agreement between the different and autonomous components are indispensable requirements for the maintenance in the country of a growing pressure, for changing and determining the situation. But it would be completely illusory to believe that even if the left parties and forces succeeded in obtaining 51 percent of votes and parliamentary representation (which in itself would mean a great step forward in terms of balance of forces between parties in Italy), this fact would assure the survival and activity of a government which would be the expression of such a figure of 51 percent. Aware as we are of this, we have always considered that unity between the parties of working people and the left forces is not a sufficient condition to guarantee the defense and progress of democracy, if this unity is opposed by a bloc of parties which place from the center up to the extreme right. The central political issue in Italy has been and continues more than ever before to be precisely avoiding achievement of a stable and organic link between the center and the right, a broad

clerical-fascist type front and in exchange succeeding in shifting to consistently democratic positions the social and political forces of the center. That is why we talk not about the "left alternative," but about a "democratic alternative," that is about the political prospect of cooperation and agreement among the Catholic-inspired people's forces and with groups of other democratic orientations." [25]

In the same context, the secretary general of the Italian Communist Party pointed out in his Report to the 15th Congress which was held recently that the essential element of the policy of democratic unity for communists continues to involve unified relations with the Italian Socialist Party, because unity of the left is a decisive factor for democratic and socialist growth. Moreover, the policy of social renewal envisioned by Italian communists also involves other important interlocutors and primarily the Catholic-inspired democratic social and political forces, including those that find their expression in Christian democracy.

Enrico Berlinguer stated: "The problem which we are facing is rapid broadening of the entire system of alliances of the working class, which must have an increasingly greater capacity of comprehending the new social phenomena of today in order to perceive and guide toward a transformation of society the interests and goals which it expresses. But we must also take into consideration the fact that a policy of alliances cannot be defined only in terms of economic and social interests. Account must also be taken of other elements -- political, ideological, cultural, and moral factors -- with the central issue being that of rapid broadening of all the system of alliances of the working class, for the purpose of making healthier and renewing the entire society. This concept of the alliances of the working class clearly evidences the true meaning of the historical compromise. The strategy of the historical compromise cannot be understood as a prejudice to the historical-political identity of each party and neither does it exclude the possibility of different formulas of government. What communists consider as indispensable for the safeguarding and renewal of the country are the convergence and agreement of the broad masses of socialist, communist, and Catholic trends." [26]

Under the current conditions in Spain, the leadership of the Communist Party of that country maintains that the order of the day is not the matter of a joint program of the left but a program of all democratic forces in which, as stated by Santiago Carillo in an interview granted to NIN weekly in December 1978, "must include the Democratic Center Union, the Worker Socialist Party, the Communist Party, those from Catalonia, and the Basque nationalists. In other words, by joint forces we must create a democratic program

which would permit normalization of the political, social and economic situation. Everything, except a broad democratic front, would today lead Spain toward disaster."

The Communist Party of Japan proposes "to make sustained efforts to achieve class unity of the broadest sections of working people, by upholding the basic claims of all working people, of youth, women, engineers, and other social sections, by activization of trade unions, defense of the various groups that speak up against higher prices, protection against pollution of the environment, for higher pensions, and so forth, so as to be the chief promoter of the common fight conducted by all the people." [27]

Speaking of the need for achieving the broadest possible unity of the country's forces, the Political Resolution of the Communist Party of U.S.A. held in June 1975 emphasized in this respect: "New and favorable conditions have been created for winning new allies of the working class, by achieving the unity of colored people, of those of Asian origin and of whites in the growing wave of strikes, of organizing committees, of firm strengthening of the struggle against racial discrimination. Use must also be made of the mass joining of workers' ranks by young workers and women, which adds new dimensions to the class struggle." [28]

In addition to tackling the problem of the political and social forces that are involved in the revolutionary process of transition to socialism, the communist parties in developed capitalist countries in their programs focus on the major objectives to be achieved. In essence there are three of them: Completion of social democracy, economic democracy, and political democracy.

The first of these objectives involves fight against austerity programs and unemployment, which affect the people's masses, against poverty and inequalities, respectively for equal opportunities for the development of all people and each individual. Economic democracy means a new type of development, conceived, oriented and controlled by and for working people. It involves the means of production and exchange becoming the property of all of society, in other words a system of nationalizations, besides other forms of social ownership, but also an economic sector based on private property. In connection with this last-mentioned aspect, which, moreover, has been amply discussed specifically in the materials prepared by the Italian Communist Party, some clarifications are made, to the effect that the private sector involves areas such as agriculture, the artisan sector, small-scale industry, and services. Furthermore, it is pointed out that there can be no advance toward socialism without alliance with the middle section, which make up the majority of people who are active in these sectors. Moreover, it is estimated that if massive nationalizations were

made in all sectors -- primary, secondary and tertiary -- to Italy's situation this would mean chaos and, probably, a decline of the country's economy, political ruptures which would open the path to approaches toward the right.

Political democracy involves a representative power of working people, in whose context the working class should play the leading political role, meant to guarantee the imprescriptible rights of man, expansion of liberties, respect for pluralism, and alternance in power (this last-named aspect, specifically, creating a number of formulations, of contradictory positions).

In the same context of ideas, the communist parties point out that, concurrently with the transformation of property and state power, efforts must be made for modification of social relations, which should be based on self-management in all economic, political, and social areas.

The problems discussed by communist parties in capitalist countries also include the relationship between the party and the state. For instance, in a society with several political parties, in a state in which it is not envisioned that a specific ideology should prevail, the communist party figures as a part of society, as a political force which is not the expression of all society. This is a new concept on the party, which differs from that in the past. By stating this the communists provide an answer to the forces that criticize it, claiming that if in party's life the principle of democratic centralism is applied, the same principle could become a rule for state life, a fact that will result in the disappearance of representative parliamentary democracy. But the communists consider that what is a principle of life, of conduct of the party, that is of an organized political form, of a force which fights for transformation of society, must not be a principle in the life of the state, where it is necessary to take account of a multitude of social, political, cultural, and other factors.

Another significant matter, both now but specifically during the period of transition to socialism, involves the position on the concept of Marxism-Leninism, a much-debated question which received different answers. In essence, the communist parties in a number of developed capitalist countries, aware of the revolutionary thought and experience of Marx and Lenin, proceed from the premise that the strength of a revolutionary movement is also verified, in terms of theoretical aspect and revolutionary action, by the capacity to critically take over the experience of these revolutionaries, respectively to give up the theses which no longer are valid under the new historical conditions, and, moreover, to maintain and enrich the theses which retain their value.

Furthermore, the communist parties maintain that the theses which are taken over from the classics must not be translated dogmatically but must be verified in light of changing events, in the context of the various objective situations and also in light of all advances of modern thinking. Consequently, because the Marxist-Leninist concept does not express the entire wealth of the theoretical and ideological resources characteristic of the revolutionary concept of the proletariat, the communist parties do their own share, under the new historical conditions, by the documents which they work out, study and implement and the thoughts of other theoreticians and leaders of the communist and working-class movement, who were and continue to be instrumental in enriching it, were and continue to be a source of orientation for analysis of the situations in various countries and for formulation of research tools which can be critically verified, utilized, and renewed in the context of changing reality, of new practical and theoretical experiences. In this respect Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "Of course, the notion of Marxism-Leninism has been used for acknowledgement of the merits of these great revolutionary thinkers and fighters. But it must be understood that scientific socialism is not a closed doctrine, given once and for all. Our revolutionary theory develops and grows richer constantly, in the context of the changes which take place in society, in the practice of communist parties, in universal knowledge." [29]

Precisely proceeding from this evolution in thinking and in the conditions of manifestation, some communist parties have provided a new interpretation to the idea of internationalism and solidarity, which also includes other components aside from communist parties. As a matter of fact, today the world revolutionary movement sees in the arena very different and vast emancipation movements and trends. For their victory are necessary the solidarity and common involvement of these forces, and a new outlook and practice of internationalism involves acknowledgement of the fact that the movements of liberation and building of a new society advance along paths and using approaches which reflect different historical and cultural traditions and civilizations and experiences. This characteristic must not be regarded as a hindrance but, conversely, as a factor of strength, an element designed to enrich and amplify the entire movement for peace, democracy, independence and social progress. Today, universal patterns, chairs of ideological orthodoxy or exclusive centers of political leadership are no longer possible. The process required for a rapprochement and cooperation of these revolutionary forces must develop in the context of respect for the autonomy and independence of each state, each party and movement, in a free and constructive critical confrontation of various experiences and formulations. In the same line the communist parties also conceive a new foreign policy course, by assertion of the basic principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states with differing social and economic systems. They feel that this primarily involves taking steps

forward along the path of detente, resolving conflicts by peaceful negotiations, proceeding to disarmament and building a new international economic order. The resolution of these problems cannot be based only on negotiations between governments; it requires mobilization of the broadest progressive, revolutionary forces, of the broad people's masses.

Moreover, the evolution of many communist parties in developed capitalist countries was also based on the fact that they always centered their activities on the fight for peace and progress and planned to conduct this fight openly, in alliance and revolutionary unity with other social and political forces as well. The problems of transition to socialism, of broadening democracy are regarded by these parties, in the same spirit, of broad fighting alliances.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programul Partidului Comunist Roman de Paurire a Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate si Inaintare a Romaniei Spre Comunism" [Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism], Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1975, p 188.
2. In this regard see: Nita Dobrota, "Mecanisme Interne ale Capitalismului Monopolist de Stat" [Internal Mechanics of State Monopolistic Capitalism], Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1974, pp 42-65.
3. Ibidem, pp 64-65.
4. Ibidem, p 112.
5. Ibidem, p 115.
6. Traian Caraciuc, Constantin Florea, Ion Iuga, and Carol Niri, "Clasa Muncitoare Contemporana" [The Modern Working Class], Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1974, p 24.
7. See: Tudorel Postolache, "Capitalismul Monopolist de Stat" [State Monopolistic Capitalism], Editura Politica, 1975, pp 81-84.
8. "Les Principes de la Politique du Parti Communiste Francais" [The Principles of the Policy of the French Communist Party], Paris, Editions Sociales, 1976, pp 107-108.

9. Jean Delmarle, "Classes et Luttres de Classes" [*Classes and Class Struggles*], Paris, Les Editions Ouvrieres, 1973, pp 222-223.
10. Ibidem, pp 263, 275-276.
11. See T. Postolache, op cit, p 84.
12. See: Jean Meynaud, "La Technocratie. Mythe ou Realite?" [*Technocracy. Myth or Reality?*], Paris, Payot, 1964, p 20.
13. Alain Touraine, "La Societe Post-Industrielle" [*Post-Industrial Society*], Paris, Editions Denoell, 1969, p 77.
14. Ibidem, p 98.
15. "Les Principes de la Politique du Parti Communiste Francais" [*Principles of the Policy of the French Communist Party*], p 102.
16. Jacques Duclos, "Gaullisme. Technocratie. Corporatism" [*Gaullism. Technocracy. Corporatism*], Paris, Editions Sociales, 1963, p 173.
17. Jean Meynaud, op cit, p 176.
18. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Expunere la Sedinta Activului Central de Partid si de Stat. 3 August 1978" [*Speech at the Session of the Party and State Central Active. 3 August 1978*], Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1978, pp 38-39.
19. Ibidem, p 39.
20. "Les Principes de la Politique du Parti Communiste Francais," Editions Sociales, Paris, 1976, p 114.
21. See: G. Prodea, "The Romanian Communist Party and the Current Imperative of Historical Reconciliation Between Communists and Socialists," in ANALE DE ISTORIE, No 4/1975, pp 42-52.
22. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Expunere la Marea Adunare Nationala cu Privire la Maretele Realizari ale Poporului Roman in Cincinalul 1971-1975 si la Politica Externa a Romaniei, Pusa in Slujba Pacii si Colaborarii Internationale -- 18 Decembrie 1975" [*Address to the Grand National Assembly on the Great Achievements of the Romanian People Under the 1971-1975 Five-Year Plan and Romania's Foreign Policy, in the Service of Peace and International Cooperation -- 18 December 1975*], Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1975, p 14.

23. L'HUMANITE of 16 November 1975.
24. SCINTEIA of 12 May 1979.
25. RINASCITA of 12 October 1973.
26. SCINTEIA of 4 April 1979.
27. JAPAN PRESS NEWS of July 1974.
28. DAILY WORLD of 6 June 1975.
29. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Expunere la Sedinta Activului Central de Partid si de Stat," 3 August 1978, pp 39-40.

11710
CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

MILITARY AID CUTOFF--The USSR is contemplating cutting off all military aid to Romania for as long as Romania continues to send war materiel to Egypt. Since 1978, the Romanians have been supplying the Egyptian army with spare parts for its aircraft, tanks and artillery pieces in spite of Moscow's protests. [Text] [Paris LE POINT in French 24 Sep 79 p 63]

CSO: 3100

SECRETARIAT OFFICIAL INDICTED FOR ECONOMIC CRIMES

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 79 p 16

[Excerpts] In the Belgrade District Court, before the Criminal Council presided over by judge Branislav Blagojevic, a trial began of Branko Duraskovic, aged 67, former independent counselor at the Federal Secretariat for Economy. He was charged with the criminal act of counter-revolutionary threat to the social order. According to the indictment, from 1965 to 1970 Duraskovic as an independent counselor at the Federal Secretariat for Economy committed an act directed toward undermining the economic basis of the country. He did this with the agreement and the request of Slobodan Bato Todorovic (who was recently sentenced to 20 years in prison for different schemes), as well as at the request of the representatives of the organization of associated work (with whom Todorovic conducted business without authorization). He issued orders in the name of the Federal Secretariat for Economy to import goods for personal consumption, contrary to foreign exchange regulations in effect at that time and to decisions of the Federal Executive Council.

Duraskovic made it possible for Slobodan Todorovic and various organizations with which the latter conducted business in an illegal way to import 69 million dinars worth of consumer goods; Duraskovic obtained 55 million dinars worth of these goods.

It is stated in the indictment that in order to pay him back in some way, Todorovic built for Duraskovic a family villa in Orebic, bought him a building site in Grocka and Zaton near Dubrovnik, and gave him other gifts. Such activity of Duraskovic caused damage to the economy of our country, and made it possible for Slobodan Todorovic to earn 2,786,715 dinars in an anti-constitutional way. Namely, Todorovic pretended to be an importer of goods and used false documents and names of nonexistent firms--he increased the prices set by original sellers of goods and in this way he earned huge amounts of money.

Duranovic (who has been in temporary confinement since 15 January 1979) denied the charges.

The trial will last two weeks.

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